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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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12 November 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION NEEDED IN AIR CLEANUP

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 37, 1985 pp 8-9

[Excerpts from interview with Eng Josef Jirat, CSc, Czech Planning Commission; Eng Ladislav Macek, State Commission for Technological and Investment Development; Eng Vladimir Kos, Federal Ministry of Fuels and Power; Eng Miroslav Kustka, CSc, Institute for Research and Utilization of Fuels in Prague; Prof Eng Jan Smolik, CSc, Engineering Faculty, Czech Institute of Technology in Prague; RNDr [Doctor of Natural Sciences] Peter Raab, CSR Ministry of Forestry and Water Management; prepared by Jaroslav Pesta and Jan Prochazka; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] Czechoslovakia, like other industrial states, is having problems with the creation and protection of a healthy life environment. The most important element affected here is the atmosphere which is polluted by strong emissions of our own making as well as "imported" ones and sulfur dioxide. Efforts in recent years to improve our life environment have had positive results, including a reduction of strong emissions, but we cannot claim any change in the production of sulfur dioxide since 1983. A closer look at this "area without boundaries" and seeking ways to clean up the atmosphere are the subject of our discussion in which a number of experts give their opinions.

Eng Josef Jirat: The latest calculation of losses due to the polluted atmosphere in the CSR amounts to approximately Kcs 3.5 billion per year. This estimate is, however, only a rough one and includes losses of about Kcs 470 million in plant production, Kcs 420 million in forestry, Kcs 150 million in protected conservation sites and Kcs 2.5 million for losses due to increased corrosion of fixed assets, etc.

Eng Ladislav Macek: The composition of our primary resources, especially the relatively high sulfur content of energy coal, puts us in the forefront of producers of sulfur dioxide emissions and other noxious fumes dispersed upon the populace. In view of our location we "export" some of these but we "import" a considerable amount, especially from the regions lying west and north of our borders. Recently, for example, we have been blamed by the FRG with being the source of damaged forest growth in Bavaria. From many discussions with experts of both countries conducted in an open spirit it turned out, however, that most of the damage comes from local sources but also from other parts of Europe. In the final analysis, this shows that maintaining a clean atmosphere goes beyond

state boundaries and therefore calls for international cooperation and peaceful coexistence among countries with differing social systems.

[Question] Almost nine-tenths of all polluting substances get into the atmosphere here from the combustion process. The main sources are electric power stations, thermal power plants and factory boiler rooms. Is it possible to find at least an acceptable solution?

Eng Vladimir Kos: A way must be found. Health as well as economic reasons only serve to underscore the need. That is why the CSSR has committed itself to reducing its sulfur dioxide emissions 30 percent over 1980 levels by 1995. This is certainly a challenging goal and not only economically. According to theoretical estimates, as of the year 2025 the production of electricity from steam powered stations would produce 4.3 million tons of sulfur dioxide annually from the output of an electrification system of 26,000 MW. The necessary desulfuring equipment would cost about Kcs 443 billion or an average investment of Kcs 17 million for one installed megawatt. For this kind of money it is possible to produce 30,000 MWh in nuclear power plants which would probably be all the capacity required by 2025.

From these facts it is obvious that the most economical way to reduce the emissions is the construction of nuclear power plants. At the same time, however, it is necessary to find the best way to desulfurize waste gases in already existing selected sources of emissions. Today there are nuclear stations under construction which by 1995 should produce 41,000 MWh which corresponds to the production of about one million tons of sulfur dioxide from steam electric stations. Thus, in order to meet our obligations, it is necessary to take care of the remaining 200,000 tons of sulfur dioxide.

[Question] The operation of nuclear power plants, however, will make it possible to shift the coal mined to other areas of consumption. So the emission of sulfur dioxide will not come from the production of electricity but elsewhere; after all, this does not improve the situation!

Eng V Kos: If other departments make use of this fuel they will have to build the required desulfurizing systems at the same time. Reduced consumption of coal and energy in the national economy would make it possible to reduce the mining of coal with a higher sulfur content.

[Question] The desulfurizing of waste gases has been worked on in the CSSR ever since the beginning of the fifties. After these 35 years isn't the technology known here?

Eng L Macek: Gradually we have come to the conclusion that Czechoslovakia will not carry on its own research because in that period about 200 desulfurizing techniques have already been processed abroad and we will concentrate on collaboration and cooperation with foreign countries for possible purchase of desulfurizing technology. We have received offers from such places as Japan, America and West Germany but no process had the kind of related unit that could be applied to waste gases from North Bohemian brown coal. In any case, it was necessary to build a test unit for desulfurizing this coal. Therefore, it was

decided that we would take the path of cooperation with the Soviet Union, the GDR and the Polish People's Republic which had tested several technologies in the seventies. The Czechoslovak power industry, in fact, uses coal of a low quality which is not burned elsewhere.

Since northern Bohemia has a concentration of industry and mining they have problems disposing of the waste matter, so they began to look for a reclaiming method, a closed cycle, one that calls for a technology with little or no waste at all. Soviet experts recommended a magnetizing method which will be experimentally installed in a 200 MW unit in the Tusimice II electric power station. But it must be added that no matter what the technology there will always be certain technical risks connected with it.

Eng V Kos: We no longer have the time now to establish research projects. We have to tell ourselves that we have such and such conditions and we want to get these kinds of results. And at the same time we obviously cannot evade international cooperation whether it be with the Soviet Union and the GDR or with Poland or even the FRG. For instance, we have just been offered technical assistance by the highest representatives of the FRG. A Bavarian government minister is talking about trying out a test unit under conditions advantageous to both sides. Other discussions centered on the possibility of testing our brown coal in those electric power plants in the FRG where they are building damp or semi-dry desulfurizing methods. Depending on the results achieved, we will then decide on further collaboration. So we want to learn about the pluses and minuses of the various methods. But we must submit the necessary materials for state experts to review sometime this year.

[Question] This brings up a question--is the magnetizing method selected the best one for our conditions?

Eng J Jirat: I would incline toward the damp, calcareous method which is operationally developed and tested with a relatively high degree of sulfur removal and is supplied by world companies. It does, however, call for disposing of the waste; but the question is whether, in addition to the large dumps of strip mines, sludge beds and flue ashes, there would also be some kind of waste from the desulfurization. Nevertheless, it is the method most widely used in the world and for boilers heated by coal practically the only one. For example, in the FRG it is in operation in dozens of large desulfurizing devices and in the mammoth Soviet metallurgical combines in Magnitogorsk it has in fact been used ever since 1938 and cleans approximately 3 million m³ of waste gases per hour.

Eng Miroslav Kustka: I do not agree with that! The simplest operational method is the dry calcareous one. It can be applied in practically any power plant whereas the complicated damp or even reclaiming process can be used here only in Tusimice and Prunerov. In all the other electric power plants conditions are so constricted that this equipment simply could not be installed there.

Prof Eng Jan Smolik: I have an entirely different opinion. The reclaiming method which our power industry opted for is absolutely the right choice. In view of the quantity of sulfur dioxide we cannot let ourselves consume all our production of calcite or lime.

Eng V Kos: I believe that any discussion about selecting the best technology is useless here. The method was selected after considering all points of view. The additive method is really the simplest, but in applying it the properties of the fly ashes change and so it is necessary to install other electrofilters. The waste must be deposited in dumps and that costs up to Kcs 120 per ton today. And transporting to electric power stations about 800,000 tons of calcite annually in addition to the coal would overburden our transportation facilities.

Eng L Macek: The various opinions expressed during our discussion show a diversity of views including advocacy of departmentalism. Our central offices were aware that it would be more convenient to buy desulfurizing technology even if necessary from nonsocialist states. That would probably be a faster approach but certainly more costly.

Prof J Smolik: The conditions for proper operation of desulfurizing equipment with the use of our coal are absolutely different from conditions in other states. Our hesitation in selecting a particular type is also due to the fact that at the beginning we had very bad experiences. Actually, Czechoslovakia was among the first states to start research on sulfur removal but in view of the fact that extremely heavy investment was involved it somewhat exhausted us and we became disenchanted. I believe that is what led us to hold back somewhat and now we are catching up.

I'd also like to say something in defense of those who are responsible for the operation of power facilities. A manager would have to have very high ethical motivation in order to start something that would give him a lot of trouble and that involved absolutely no material incentive. Furthermore, I believe that the costs of power and fuels do not readily permit taking any "excursion" into the installation of such equipment which would increase the cost per unit of production.

Eng L Macek: All methods of limiting the emission of pollutants are uneconomical if they are computed by the khozraschet method. That is how the various departments calculate it. But from a nationwide point of view emissions control is a necessary political goal.

Prof J Smolik: Just one small matter: we are not including among the necessary nationwide expenditures those that are designated for eliminating the results.

Eng V Kos: The application of sulfur removing systems will certainly affect the economic balance of the power generating industry. Standard costs for producing electricity will increase about 30 to 35 percent. It will be up to the central offices to take care of this. In many countries it appears that the public would agree to increasing the costs of electricity by one-fourth to one-third provided this would radically improve the quality of the atmosphere. Of course we are not going this way but we, too, must start thinking about these problems.

Eng L Macek: No matter what the costs we must be fully cognizant that unless all the deciding countries on our continent agree to a gradual elimination or curbing of the emission of harmful gases into the atmosphere, there will be

grave consequences for the whole ecology of the country; the damage will be irreversible which future generations will have great difficulty correcting.

[Question] We have agreed that the desulfurizing method is the future way out. In the meantime, isn't there at least some kind of operational solution which would moderate the pollution of the atmosphere?

RNDR Petr Raab: There is! In the North Bohemian brown coal basin there was put into operation under the coordination of the Ministry of Forestry and Water Management a so-called prognostic signaling system for the purpose of making sure that in times of unfavorable dispersion conditions the pollution of the surface atmosphere does not further increase. On the basis of predictions from a branch of the hydrometeorological institute, warning signals are issued to large enterprises. With the announcement of the alert electric power stations reduce their output, coal is burned with a lower sulfur content from reserve stockpiles and production in industrial plants is restricted. After 3 years of testing this system is also being prepared for Prague and Ostrava.

Eng M Kustka: The alerting system is certainly very interesting. For example, in Japan they have a whole region mapped out with this system where all kinds of harmful substances can be found and pressure is put on the producer. An electric power plant, however, has to have a stockpile of low-sulfur coal for these eventualities which in case of an inversion it would use instead of the regular fuel coal with its high sulfur content. So it has to have two stockpiles which is not a free thing but most of all, a full 8 hours must elapse before it is able to transfer to low-sulfur coal. And in that time the conditions may already have passed. More interesting is to use as an interim measure the dry calcareous method of sulfur removal which can be put into operation by the push of a button. In case an inversion occurs it is possible to reduce air pollution at least 50 percent within a half hour.

[Question] In regard to desulfurizing waste gases, are we investigating any other possibilities, for example, in boiler operations?

RNDR P Raab: Yes, for example in burning high sulfur coal with a minimal effect on the environment. Attention is concentrated on so-called fluidized combustion. Desulfurization of the waste gases is achieved by feeding ground calcite into the fluidized bed where, under 700-900 degrees Celsius a reaction occurs between the sulfur dioxide and carbonate or calcium dioxide. In view of the relatively low temperature in the furnace there is more sulfur removed than in the classical additive method and current powdered combustion chambers. For the same reason emission of nitrogen dioxide is practically minimal.

An especially important problem is a continuous supply of limestone and disposing of waste materials. After trials and verification with small equipment a prototype boiler was built with a capacity of 25 tons of steam per hour--that is practically 20 MW--in the Trmice thermal power station.

Eng L Macek: It might be a good idea to say something about the outlook. In my opinion fluidized combustion with desulfurization of waste gases is suitable primarily for small and medium operations. If the results of the state's

objectives at the Trmice thermal station are successful, if they fulfill at least most of the requirements, then the social demands will themselves contribute to the development of this modern technology. The primary requirement is to burn lower quality coal and minimize the effects on the environment. The application of this technology should permit attaining a reduction in sulfur dioxide emissions of roughly 80 percent.

Eng V Kos: In the meantime, however, the tests at the Trmice thermal station are rather negative. And as far as I know, in no other states have they succeeded using fluidized combustion for larger operations; for the present it is rather in a testing stage. For example, at the electric power station in Volklingen in the FRG, which I visited, the whole power unit has worked 15,000 hours already but with the fluidized combustion chamber only 700!

[Question] From the discussion so far it appears that in the present situation we obviously cannot concentrate our efforts on only one method of limiting sulfur dioxide emissions.

Eng L Macek: Yes, in order to reduce them it is necessary to use all procurable methods that are available or which were developed here by us or abroad. Recently opinions are changing here as well as in the rest of the world. More attention is being given to technologies which involve less costly investments and can be applied more quickly. But I cannot say whether they can be produced here at home in the time required. I believe, however, that if, for example, the principles at Trmice are verified, then that will put pressure on our engineers for the production of this equipment.

[Question] Is there any thought being given to some kind of legislative reforms or are any new laws being prepared to protect the atmosphere from pollutants?

RND P Raab: Yes, a new law is under preparation which depends on the principle of so-called emission limits. This will make it possible to determine what amount of polluting agents may be released into the atmosphere not only in combustion but also in industrial production. At the same time it is based on current techniques for reducing emissions and from experiences in the rest of the world. Abroad these emission limits serve as incentives when polluters begin to plan and install appropriate equipment, for example, to desulfurize waste gases. Naturally, one must differentiate between old and new sources of pollution. If the limits are exceeded, sanctions are applied. Meantime our version of the law does not call for punitive sanctions which, for instance, are current in the Soviet and French legislation. But there is something new with the goal of increasing the protection of nationwide interests.

[Question] Last year in June there was a conference in Munich on the life environment. Was there anything noteworthy in its conclusions?

Eng L Macek: The appeal of several European countries that sulfur dioxide emissions be reduced by 30 percent over 1980 levels by 1993 was also acceded to by Czechoslovakia. So we can expect that this will lead to the signing of an amendment to the Convention on Long-Range Dispersion of Noxious Substances. This means that Czechoslovakia will be one of the countries that accepts reduction of sulfur dioxide emissions to the extent indicated.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DEFICIENT TRANSIT CONTROLS AFFECT SWEDISH RELATIONS

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 28 Sep 85 p 6

[Article by Richard Swarts datelined East Berlin: "East Berlin is Concerned About Swedish Protest"]

[Text] The refugee problem that has arisen between Sweden and the German Democratic Republic [GDR] is observed here in Berlin as "a cloud on an otherwise blue sky." In a conversation with a spokesman for the East German Foreign Ministry, there is an indication of concern that the good neighbor relations with Sweden, which are an important part of the Honecker regime's west policy, might be harmed.

SVENSKA DAGBLADET was told that both sides should agree that the flow of transient travellers--primarily Iraqis, Iranians, Lebanese and Palestinians--across the German Democratic Republic to Sweden is a technical problem and not a political problem. It was also indicated that a solution should be imminent.

The Swedish press suffered severe criticism: the press reporting is said to have been "just as far away from the truth as Berlin is from Rome" and to have in no way reflected the correct and objective outcome of the discussions with the Swedish Authorities.

Conservative Party Criticized

Ulf Adelsohn was also criticized. During the last election spurt, the leader of the Conservative Party in Trelleborg demanded that hard measures be taken and an end be put to the "East German Human Trade," an attitude that has been characterized as "the clean nursery."

On the Swedish side, the attitude is much more expectant. A substantial solution of the problem would first be a marked decline in the refugee flow from the GDR which is something that has not happened yet. According to Swedish understanding, the GDR must first verify that the transients really do hold valid papers for the country named as the final destination, while the East-Berlin understanding seems to be that the transit right itself consists of being allowed to travel across East German territory.

Not Only Interpretation

In fact a judicial interpretation war? No, is the Swedish opinion; international practice yields an overwhelming support to the Swedish interpretation. The GDR also acts with inconsistency as Tamils on their way to West Berlin and West Germany are stopped; last week that was also said to have happened with Iranians on route to West Berlin, which is something nobody is willing to confirm officially here in East Berlin.

It is possible that such a likely concession from the East German side may depend on the fact that Bonn is capable of exercising much greater pressure on East Berlin in negotiations than Stockholm is able to do.

"Within the framework of our possibilities," East Berlin feels that it has shown Stockholm great accommodation; in order to help Sweden "reduce the problem," everybody who wants to fly with the East German Airline Interflug to Sweden and does not have a valid visa is stopped. At the same time, the influx of such people increased on the ferries from Sassnitz to Trelleborg.

Moreover, East German embassies in the countries concerned were informed that they should step up the control of transit papers. Their passports are now collected on the ferry in Sassnitz and handed over to the captain by East German authorities.

Not Responsible

In the East German Foreign Ministry it is emphasized that this is done in order to guard the good neighbor relations--they have extended themselves far to meet Sweden although they do not see themselves as being responsible for Sweden's asylum and entry decisions.

Rhetorical questions are asked whether Sweden will provide the same service for the GDR? Why doesn't Sweden solve its own problems? Why push them over on the GDR which "as usual" is depicted as the black sheep, at least by the press.

"We have 22 million transients a year and we are therefore unable to solve this problem one hundred percent for Sweden," says the East German Foreign Ministry.

"Nor can we guarantee that from time to time several people do not slip through with false papers. We are only human. You can perhaps also understand how unpleasant it is for us to collect the passports from these unfortunate people. They are scared and confused and do not want to part with them."

Sour Reaction

When Sweden delayed the ferry traffic through new controls, the reaction in East Berlin was sour. They give themselves credit for not making any fuss about this--only a very short notice in the East German press.

To those who are completely convinced that the primary goal of the GDR is to make money on the big transient traffic, the Foreign Ministry responds that the accommodating efforts extended by Sweden show such a thesis. The accommodating efforts only caused problems for the GDR. One soon gets the feeling through this conversation with the East German authorities that the East German situation is not to be envied either. Not taking into consideration the real motive behind the liberal transit rules, to put it mildly, for people who pay their tickets to East Berlin in desirable currency, it probably so happens that this practice was not intended to strike at Sweden.

Political Idea

Probably a political idea could be found behind letting West Berlin, for example, receive such refugees: in the East German Foreign Ministry it is said somewhat ambiguously that the politicians in West Berlin who think that there is only a demarcation line that goes through Berlin, not a border line, should take the full consequences of their arguments. Probably a great part of the problem with Sweden also lies outside East Berlin's own control.

"Interflug is not the only airline to fly to East Berlin," SVENSKA DAGBLADET is told. The Polish Airline Lot and the Soviet Airline Aeroflot keep up a heavy traffic between the Arabic countries and Berlin.

The visitor must draw the final conclusions himself. Maybe the fact is that in this case the GDR is quite powerless against the border states and their motive for this traffic; perhaps the East German side wants to push the responsibility in another direction without anybody on the outside actually being able to control who in fact is responsible.

Troubled

The main impression is, however, that East Berlin is troubled; that this refugee problem is in conflict with the much more important stratagem which the Honecker regime has developed to gain contacts and prestige in the West. This is, however, no guarantee that the refugee problem will soon be a thing of the past.

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HUNGARY

DAILY CASTS ROMANIAN ECONOMIC SITUATION IN FAVORABLE LIGHT

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[Editorial Report] Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian on 4 October on page 2 carries a 750-word article by Denes Quapai entitled: "Romanian Meetings -- Program and Reality."

The author offers high praise for the development of the country, pointing out that "the housing problem has in fact been eliminated in Romania," and praising the accelerated pace of housing construction that enables "a young couple to wait only half a year at the most for their housing."

The author also supplies statistical data on the considerable development of industry, industrial production, the prospects of a successful implementation of the current 5-Year Plan, the tasks of the seventh 5-Year Plan, and the fact that "one-third of the national income is allocated to investments in Romania" is also pointed out. The author calls the most important effort of the last two decades to be "new products of good quality" and gives examples of Bucharest and Brasov enterprises excelling in exports.

The only negative aspect mentioned in the article is the paragraph that follows the author's praise for the good housing situation: "of course, the joy of setting up a home is generally unique. A family, however, needs milk, meat, vegetables, and bread daily, and the car owner cannot go without fuel, either. Well, it is conspicuous even for the most objective viewer that, behind impressive urban development projects and increasing industrial production, lines can be seen in front of shops and the supply is far from being a steady one."

As an answer, the author quotes the director of the state planning committee as depicting the long road taken by Romania since its liberation and "especially since the 9th Congress of the party in 1956."

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HUNGARY

YOUNG WRITER CALLS FOR NEW LITERARY PERIODICAL

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 27 Sep 85 p 2

[Article by Attila Menes: "Young Scribblers"]

[Text] First of all, let us clarify who can be called young scribbler: That boy or girl who has been published more than three or four times, but who has not produced a volume yet. Another important criterion: the young scribbler--henceforth referred to as Y.S.--is younger than 25. If he is older, and if he has already published a volume, then we can call him a young writer.

And now let us see what kind of worries a Y.S. can have. To begin with, he does not know his peers. (Let me continue in the first person plural.) We do not know each other. We do not know how many of us there are, who we are, where we came from, where we are heading; as if we were closed off from each other. When the talk is of young writers, I do not know about whom we are talking. Certainly not us. To the best of my knowledge (!) there is no forum or establishment within which we could meet, where we could have discussions, debates, or at least be bored together, just like the "biggies," who can, of course, regularly meet at the Debrecan Literary Days, or at the meetings of the Writers' Association.

There are no such opportunities, but we could create them ourselves, we would not have to wait for a heavenly declaration. Let this be a call to action: Pass it on! There are a number of promising talents on the scene; I know some of them. We can expect a revival of poetry and short story writing; the literary scene of the coming years and decades will hold many surprises. Yet, G. Gyorgy Kardos was right when he cautioned in his article "How Should We Behave With Young Writers?" (ELET ES IRODALOM, 2 Aug 1985): "We should never complain about how difficult our situation is, because their situation (that is, the situation of the Y.S.s; emphasis mine) is much more difficult," because, among other other reasons, "week after week, young writers are squeezed out of the pages of the periodicals." This is certainly the case. Many of us have heard the horror stories about piles of manuscripts reaching the ceilings, or the attics, of literary journals; these are writings that have been waiting to be published for years. The Y.S. is terra incognita in literature, few people undertake the task of discovering them. How nice it was when we used to send our writings to the journal KORTARS, where Geza Paskandi would read them and respond to them, distributing blessings and

damnation, to each according to his merit. And now let us see an example deriving from lack of experience, which is referred to as double publishing.

One of my writings appeared twice within one year, once in MOZGO VILAG and once in ELET ES IRODALOM. This is an embarrassing affair, that could happen to any Y.S. who, in case you do not realize this, is among the lazier of the species. He types his writings in several carbon copies and, as soon as he removes them from his typewriter, he sends them out in all directions, hoping that they will be published somewhere. He cannot be condemned for this, even though this practice is quite dangerous. If, by chance, his writing is published in two periodicals, and if the editors read each other's publications, they could both discover Y.S.'s "trick," and blackball him for life. Yet, I do not believe that Y.S. is driven by a desire to collect two honoraria for one piece of writing, rather, he covers the market in the hope that one out of ten of his writings will be published. Of course, I could send my writing to just one publisher. Then I would wait. I would wait, and wait some more, I would telephone, I would write letters of inquiry, I would knock on the thick doors of editors, and they would say: "Oh, it is you, young man; why don't you come back in a month, by that time we should be able to read your writing." Then I would write more letters, and I would make more phone calls, and I would wear out my knuckles knocking on doors.

Finally, the writing either would or would not be published, sooner or later it would be decided one way or the other. Our lives consist of running around. We hope to have some time left for writing every once in a while. To sum it all up, the situation is impossible: We urgently need another literary journal. Beautiful appearance is not important. I envision this journal to have high standards--appearancewise, it could be something like ELET ES IRODALOM or POLIFON. Only authors without a published volume, or at most those with one volume, could publish in it, and it would appear, say, every two weeks. The editorial offices would have a forewarning of the names they would have to reckon with in the near future. This journal could be a little more relaxed and brave than the others, a little bolder and more experimental, with fewer restrictions in its editorial policy, because, after all, the youngest talent would publish within its pages.

And that is the moment when I--wake up.

Well, let's see, what else is there? It is easy for the painters and sculptors; they have a school of their own, where they teach them, and once they receive their diplomas, they are considered to be artists. They become members of the Fine Arts Fund (KA). For us, young people drunk on literature, there is no such establishment, which is not even a problem. True, there is one excellent initiative: The journal ALFOLD holds its literary studio from time to time, gathering together the talented beginners of [Hajdu-Bihar] County. At these gatherings, we have read each other's writings and criticized them; they were useful and exciting occasions. But, as far as I know, this is the only forum of its kind. What other course remains? Here and there I hear whispered names: Look for this or that person, he will read your writings and give you an honest evaluation. We need masters. But one has to be

lucky to be received by the great XYZ. One of our great literary elders, for example, refused to see me, saying that he did not doo this kind of stuff. Nowadays, writers do not even read each other's works. Why should they read us? Why should they help us by making a telephone-call?

The situation of Y.S. is difficult, and it is becoming constantly more difficult. In general, he is not swimming in filthy lucre. I know some talented young men who are living in squalor(!) The world, the country and its citizens are becoming increasingly tense, the problems are multiplying. This, of course, means that there are more topics to write about, providing that we do not lose our motivation because of the absence of opportunity, the lack of understanding, assistance and goodwill, the disappearance of our disposition to create our own communities. Still, no one should worry about us. Huddled in our small rooms that are cold in winter and hot in summer, we keep on writing-scribbling, and sooner or later we will make something of ourselves. Time will tell what.

12588

CSO: 2500/28

POLAND

PZPR DAILY NOTES AMERICAN MEDIA CRITICISM OF POLISH POLICY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21-22 Sep 85 p 7

[Article by Wlodzimierz Lozinski, U.S. correspondent: "In the United States They Are Critical About Relations With Poland"]

[Text] Publicly, announcements in the American press about the visit of Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski to UN headquarters are already provoking a growing number of commentaries on the state of and prospects for U.S.-Polish relations.

Recently THE NEW YORK TIMES on two occasions and THE WASHINGTON POST on 20 September 1985 asked primarily Ronald Reagan's administration the same essential question: "Whom do you blame for the present state of relations... and do we (Americans) see our aims clearly in our eastern European policy?" (THE WASHINGTON POST)

The outlook on Polish-American relations and on the goals of Washington's policy as presented by Stephen S. Rosenfeld deserve attention for several reasons, but primarily for one reason: the author blames Washington, American delusions, traditional anticommunism, and the programmatic support of anti-socialist forces in every eastern European country. S. S. Rosenfeld writes: "American policy towards Poland and the rest of eastern Europe is drowning in boggy inconsistency. Most of the time we can avoid thinking about that, but the forthcoming visit of W. Jaruzelski to the United Nations Organization makes this problem hit home, at least in the minds of people concerned with the Poles."

He recalls the slander flung at Polish leaders and the Polish premier when he declared martial law and then stated that "at present under his (Jaruzelski's) leadership Poland is more free than it was 4 years ago or 10 years ago.... There is greater freedom for writers and farmers there, greater independence of institutions such as the Catholic church, more ties with the West." The inconsistency of the U.S. administration lies in the fact--in S. S. Rosenfeld's opinion--that the administration does not see and does not consider these changes. "The sanctions imposed after the establishment of martial law," states Rosenfeld, "were brought unusually slowly. Formally the administration withdrew its objection to Poland's joining the International Monetary Fund, for example, but the fund is weighing the American reservations, which is prolonging the acceptance process."

Recalling successive inconsistencies and "lost opportunities to reverse" the policy of punishing Poland; S. S. Rosenfeld appeals for "conversations with many people" for the purpose of stating that "they have the impression of an exaggeration dictated with emotion" and, in addition, "harmful to the Polish people."

S. S. Rosenfeld is opposed to the policy constantly pursued by the State Department of punishing Poland and pushing nationalistic pro-Western forces and to the rejected yet generally still voiced principle of "differentiation," of dividing particular socialist states into good and bad.

Rosenfeld regrets that Washington has not taken advantage of the opportunity created by Wojciech Jaruzelski's visit to UN headquarters to demonstrate changes in its approach to the Polish question. In Rosenfeld's opinion it is all the more unfortunate, since the presence of the Polish premier at the UN building will favor improvement of Warsaw's relations with many states free of Washington's biases and inconsistencies.

Similar conclusions were reached by THE NEW YORK TIMES, which twice in the last 10 days criticized Washington's "lack of logic" in its view of Poland.

8729

CSO: 2600/30

POLAND

WESTERN TREATMENT OF POLAND CRITICIZED BY POLONIAN VETERANS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Sep 85 p 5

[PAP report: "Visit by Polonian Veterans"]

[Text] A nearly 3-week visit paid to Poland by a group of veterans who are residents of Canada, France, The Netherlands, and the United States has come to an end. The guests, who were attended to by representatives of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy (ZBoWiD) and the Polonia Society, visited Warsaw, Czestochowa, and Krakow, among other cities; they also took treatment at the Kombinat sanitarium in Kolobrzeg.

In a conversation with a PAP correspondent, Andrzej Kralewicz, president of the Regional Committee of the Royal Canadian Legion of the province of Manitoba, stated: "We wanted to confront our ideas about contemporary life in Poland. Indeed, Western propaganda keeps trying to fill up the front pages of newspapers with 'revelations' from the country on the Vistula. We have found confirmation of what we suspected--those sensations have nothing in common with reality. We have also examined the noble idea of building a Mother Poland Hospital Monument; I think that Polonia will not want in a fundraising drive for this goal.

8729

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POLAND

'POLES ABROAD' SOCIETY EMPHASIZES STRONG CONTACTS WITH POLONIA

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Sep 85 pp 1, 5

[Article by Witold Smolarek, PAP correspondent: "30th Anniversary of the Polonia Society; A Common Heritage Unites Us"]

[Text] Thirty years ago, on 18 October 1955, the founders of the Polonia Society--distinguished scholars, writers, people of culture and arts--wrote in a letter to Poles living abroad: "We want this society to strengthen the bond between you and Poland, to work in conjunction with Polonian associations, organizations, and centers abroad on preserving and developing our culture, to make it easier for your children to learn the language, geography, and history of Poland, to spread their fondness and respect for the Polish character."

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Polonia Society, falling in October 1985, how can we define the connections of Polonia with Poland? Prof Wladyslaw Markiewicz, vice-president of the society, says:

"The fundamental aims of the society have remained unchanged: we fulfill them jointly with the help of numerous Polonian communities which consciously and consistently undertake various efforts aimed at preserving the Polish character and satisfying its needs, including cultural needs. But I must say also that today's Polonia is not only Poles dispersed literally throughout the world, as a result of several emigration waves. It is also and ever more frequently their descendants, who are citizens of countries in which they were born but who keep feeling strong bonds with the old, native country.

This is fostered by--among other things--an ethnic renaissance, a phenomenon occurring in multicultural societies such as the United States, Canada, and Australia, which encourage a search for the roots of one's genealogy and for one's cultural roots. And our incontestable trump card here is the rich, many centuries-old Polish history and culture and also Poland's present position, its growing authority in the international arena, despite attempts to debase it by hostile centers.

The rich program of the just completed "Polonian Year 1985," falling after all on the 30th anniversary of the founding of the society, the participation by many thousands of guests from all continents in various shows and ceremonies, nearly 4,000 letters annually from "old-style Poles"--this is a

good illustration of the heart-felt bonds of Polonia with Poland, which are always growing stronger; let us add that they are finding highly favorable conditions for development in the climate created for collaboration with Polonia by the political and state authorities in Poland.

Every year thousands of "old-style Poles" arrive in the country of their forefathers; they participate in discussions and meetings, so-called summer language and culture schools (in the last 10 years more than 4,000 people, most of them representatives of the young intelligentsia, participated in these); let us also give some thought to--and this is one of the functions of our society--the professional advancement of Polonian communities, among other things thanks to the opportunity provided to youth to study in Poland and the strengthening of the prestige and social significance of Poland in foreign countries of residence. Polonia in turn plays an ever more meaningful role in disseminating in Europe and throughout the world the achievements of contemporary Polish thought--scientific thought, cultural attainments, and also Poland's policy of peace; these achievements help us to develop collaboration and friendship with foreign countries of residence.

Thus, Polonia is creating a peculiar bridge between the old motherland and states in which Poles have come to live and work; for this bridge to remain in the future, we have to remember the continual need to bring Polonia closer to Poland and to teach Polonia about Poland and its issues. And this remains the main task of the society for today and the future.

And a final reflection: our society traditionally has been interested in Polish countrymen throughout the world and in the lot of Polonia in general. Now in my opinion this interest is important, among other reasons, because it leads to better and therefore more genuine knowledge of the actual state of more than 12 million Poles living outside of Poland. And as we know, this state and the image of Polonia are continually undergoing changes; Polonia now has more better-educated representatives of the intelligentsia who are strengthening Polonia's social and economic position in foreign countries of residence. But it is especially important to emphasize primarily the fact that Polonia--despite differences--is providing manifold evidence that it takes pride in its genealogy and the great achievements of the country of its fathers and grandfathers, that it is concerned about Poland's good name in the world.

8729

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12 November 1985

TOURIST PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH USSR

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 Sep 85 p.4

[Article by Andrzej Bajorek: "A Protocol on Cooperation in Tourism between Poland and the Soviet Union"]

[Text] Moscow--5 September. The protocol signed today in Moscow covering cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union in the field of tourism for 1986-90 enlarges the opportunities for tourists to travel to the Soviet Union. Even during the first year covered by the agreement the number of trips should nearly double--from 25,000 to 40,000 in 1986. In 1990, 100,000 Polish tourists should visit the Soviet Union.

Thus, anyone who wishes to plan a vacation trip to Moscow, Kiev, Leningrad, the Crimea, the Caucasus, or the Bajkal region can do so now with a greater sense of reality than before. However, there will surely be more people interested in such trips than Polish travel bureaus will have places available. In other words, demand will exceed supply, and the situation will not change over the next several years, unfortunately.

The quadrupling of the number of places, which the protocol plans, is surely a significant increase, but we must remember that we began at a low level. At the beginning of the 1980s a clear drop in tourism between Poland and the Soviet Union occurred. In this field, too, we must make up for a loss. There were years such as 1978 when tourism between Poland and the Soviet Union reached 200,000 persons.

Settling international accounts that result from tourism (the tourists pay for their stay in the given country in their own currency) places us in a difficult situation. As is known, we are suffering from a shortage of foreign exchange, including rubles. Moreover, given the current prices in Poland, we are very expensive for our partners from the socialist countries. This obviously limits the number of tourists who come to our country, not to mention the now well-known lack of tourist facilities.

The difficulties mentioned here also affect our tourist exchange with the Soviet Union. However, it must be emphasized that both the Polish and Soviet tourist organizations have recently made great efforts to solve these problems. The protocol, which forecasts a measurable increase in tourism between the two countries, signed on the 5th in Moscow shows that this is possible.

13021

CSO: 2600/22

POLAND

PARISH PRIEST AT ODDS WITH TUROWICZ ON CHURCH-STATE QUESTIONS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 38, 21 Sep 85 p 5

[Letter from Rev Stanislaw Kudelski, parish priest in Bolmin, Kielce Province, and his article titled: "Does it Pay to be More Religious Than the Pope"]

[Excerpts] I kindly ask that you publish the enclosed article together with this letter.

I also sent this article, titled "Does it Pay to be More Religious Than the Pope" to TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY with a similar request. (TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY refused publication—Editor).

Following is an explanation of my untypical behavior.

For years there is a division into They and We in our fatherland. Publications by representatives of both groups, seemingly willing to eliminate this division, which is very burdensome for all citizens, are really doing everything to preserve it.

The Catholic side writes articles which are replete with deletions made by the censors. These deletions, strongly highlighted, are supposed to be proof that we are persecuted and confirm our intransigent position. Meanwhile, the other side, in deleting so much, wants to show that greater confidence may lead to confusion and even anarchy.

Another example. The "they" side, in the weekly KULTURA, prints an article whose text I do not know, and TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, a Catholic newspaper, without hesitation, prints the following reply: "In the weekly KULTURA, a boorish article by Zygmunt Kaluzynski appeared, which is his reply to a polemic from the pen of Jerzy Turowicz. We are not going to discuss it on that level." Such a way of mutually "settling" things is reminiscent more of an ordinary squabble, which does not bring about any kind of agreement.

Through my article, which is written with the deepest sincerity, I would like to throw at least a very narrow footbridge across the chasm of mutual antipathy and total lack of trust.

The growing conflicts and misunderstandings hurt me deeply. But I never knew how or had the opportunity to state my position precisely. I was not surprised that both sides did not have a great deal of confidence in me.

This article is sort of the offspring of my 40 years of grappling and deliberation. I would like, before I retire, as a person with an unceasingly joyful sense of freedom, to publicly open my heart full of love for the Church and my Present Fatherland.

I understand and am not at all surprised that people want to fight for a "better tomorrow" or an improvement in human fate. This can and should be done, but these actions must be cleansed of all kinds of hatred and even dislike. These actions must be bathed in love for the Fatherland and all of its citizens. The statement by Pope John XXIII that "so little divides us and so much unites us" should become the dominant action of everyone of us Poles. Anyone who believes that love for the Fatherland, just as love for God, can be without personal sacrifice, is wrong.

When in grammar school I learned the verse: "Holy love of my beloved Fatherland, only kindly minds know you," I did not know what it meant as deeply as I do now. When I hear complaints that the young people today have no future I smile with pity. It is possible that some of them have no future, but that is not the result of material shortages, or lack of housing—that is only a matter of the lack of love for the beloved Fatherland.

I am constantly being accused that I am like a small child, that I am hopelessly naive, that I am blind, etc. Perhaps they are right—perhaps. But what can tear me away from love... oppression, persecution, or something else.

Once I was asked maliciously: How much does the state pay you for your propaganda of love for the Fatherland, because, after all, it benefits a lot from your position?

You shortsighted person, the state benefits nothing from what I say, because the administration knows how to compel everyone to work, regardless of what is going on in my heart and in my head. Only the person who hears me can benefit from what I say. If he accepts the evangelical teaching, then his 8 hours of work in the dust of cement or in the autumn storms will not be reason for cursing his fate, but it will be reason for giving thanks for the gift of work. Only a person who knows how to work in an atmosphere of dedicated love is able to bring that peace to his children and his surroundings for which he himself is unceasingly thirsting.

I see my pastoral role as a duty to bring solace to the parishioners entrusted in my care under current, and not utopian, conditions.

Rev Stanislaw Kudelski
Parish priest
Bolmin, Kielce Province

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Dear editor, I am aware of the high level of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, as well as of the skill and profound knowledge of those who write the articles which are published in your newspaper. I am also aware of my poor literary skills, but nevertheless I am kindly requesting that you publish my deliberations in your newspaper. Perhaps a place can be found in your columns for a "horse sense" article.

My article, on such a delicate, difficult and perturbing problem as "politics and the Church, may provoke discussions not so much among scientists as among priests, who on an every-day basis must deal with the effects of the not-clearly-defined Church-State problem.

Several months ago, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY published an article by Mr Turowicz on politics and the Church. Recently Mr Micewski wrote about this article and added some thoughts of his own.

We priests need formulations in this area which are brief, sincere, practical, and nearly evangelical: "May your words be 'yes, yes' -- 'no, no'."

It struck me in the articles by both of these men that they ascribe to the Church, among others, a mission of correction, or to put it better, a mission of criticism, on everything that relates to society's activities. The very learned and broad arguments on this subject completely efface the evangelical ones: render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's.

The very characteristic words of St. Paul's letter to the Romans also disappear: "May everyone be subject to the ruler exercising rule over others, for there is no rule which does not come from God, and those that are, were established by God. He who objects to rule, objects to the order of God, and those who object, bring on themselves the verdict of condemnation."

I must admit that up to now I did not know that the Church has a correcting mission in relation to the state authority. I was taught that the Church has authority over its faithful and fulfills a priestly, teaching, and shepherd-ing mission.

The Church's mission to criticize, something very new to me, according to the above-mentioned articles is supposed to be based on the fact that the Church has the right to evaluate and criticize manifestations of social, and perhaps even political, life.

Here I must ask: as of which year does the Church have this mission?

Jesus himself gives no example of teaching or correcting the behavior of the great personages of this world. On Pilate he is silent, he says to pay taxes to the Roman invader, he is also silent on Herod, who murdered His kinsman, St. John the Baptist. Furthermore, Jesus does not want to say anything even in the face of trivial, everyday signs of injustice in the division of goods.

Jesus envisages that every authority will be oppressive for many, and that is how it will be to the end, despite enormous efforts to eliminate this defect. It is the same in social matters: Jesus said that the poor will always be among us, he tells us that totally equal social divisions are in a certain sense a dream.

Returning to reality and temporality, we should ask ourselves whether there is in the world such a state whose rulers will give to the Church the authority to correct it. It is very easy to criticize and correct when one does not have to take responsibility for the results of his actions.

No one denies that the Church has an enormous influence on society, but not through a critical attitude towards those in authority, only when the Church is able to bring up each individual in the spirit of the gospel. This tremendous power of the Church is embodied in Jesus' promise: "First seek the kingdom of God and His justice, and everything else will be given you." Woe unto us if we change the sequence of our actions.

I tried to explain my thesis, which denies the Church's mission of criticism, on the basis of what the Holy Bible says. I now want to support it with historical arguments.

After all, there was a time when the Church wielded secular power. Having this secular power it gave no example of particular concern for its subjects, about the fairest division of temporal goods. Christ's words, that the great of this world oppress their subjects, even fit the Church when it wielded secular power.

We can ask with some malice, therefore, what happened to the critical mission of the Church when the inquisition raged through almost all of Europe, which, in addition to religious matters also had problems in the social field. We can further ask, where was the critical mission of the Church when the peoples of Europe were being converted to Catholicism by sword and fire. Where was the critical mission of the Church when barbaric slavery was rife in the Catholic countries? The American negroes are not indebted to the Roman Church for the movements which brought them freedom, but to the Protestant Church.

I write about these matters, so drastic for all of us Catholics, with complete sincerity because I am convinced that the indestructible Church is not afraid of the truth, and an admission to mistakes or faults by individuals as well as a larger part of humanity, a part of the struggling Church, is always a ray of God's mercy and power.

In this part of my article I want to answer the question contained in the title. About how disastrous may be the results of ascribing to the Church a mission which was not given to it.

Many distinguished priests, who have the thesis of the Church's criticism mission hammered into their subconscious, and who in addition interpret the Church's infallibility too broadly, teach, from the pulpit, freedom to criticize the state authority and administration. This is completely incompatible with the prewar interpretation of the fourth commandment. That commandment tells us to honor our parents unconditionally. Certainly, the Old Testament tells us to honor our father even when he is mentally impaired. In addition to honor for parents, moral theology speaks about honor for all "superiors," regardless of whether I like these "superiors" or not.

In any case, transgression of this subtle boundary is anarchy. Anarchy is the greatest enemy of any society. The utterances of the Pope, Cardinal Wyszynski, and the present cardinals, clearly show that the Church has not forgotten about this for even a moment.

We believers, who daily bear the heavy crosses and afflictions which are necessary to become a pupil of Christ, should give thanks that the unbearable burden of striving for authority, or to "exchange" it, has already been removed from our shoulders.

It is enough to let the Kingdom of God into our souls, and He, whom we trust utterly, will see to it and everything else will be given to us.

9295

CSO: 2600/44

POLAND

RESPONSE TO RECENT CHURCH-STATE POLEMICS IN KATOWICE CURIA WEEKLY

Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish No 40, 6 Oct 85 p 8

[Article by A.W.: "By the Way"]

[Text] Among the often-fierce disputes and polemics being conducted at present by Poles (only a part of which appear in the newspapers and periodicals in our kiosks) there is also the matter of the Church. And sometimes in a very controversial way. A certain once well-known union activist said to me recently: "You will see. Communism did not live up to our expectations and now the Church will let us down." Another time I listened with surprise to the fervent utterance of a certain former-Marxist intellectual who assured me that it is the Church which will soon lead the nation out of the crisis and misfortune. Official statements also appear from time to time. That is why there are also a great many expectations and misconceptions which are in conflict with one another. I believe that there are less of them among the people of the Church than elsewhere: among the priests and those lay people who are the most involved in the work of the Church. In general, it is these people who know very well what the actual calling of the Church is and what kind of "policy" the Church steers clear of. But there is still a certain amount of confusion on this among the broad social circles.

Therefore, the sermon delivered by the Primate at Jasna Gora on 26 August is very significant. In this sermon the real tasks of the Church were clearly presented, tasks in the face of threats to the faith, the spiritual and moral life, and primarily the position of service to the people, especially the poor and the suffering, combined with cautious concern about the independence of the Church towards all kinds of institutions and proposals from the outside. The Primate's response to accusations of the alleged danger of clericalism, his comments on the subject of tolerance, or his calm treatment of the menace of the criticism which threatens the Church, explains a great deal and makes it easier to understand the Church's intentions and position. At the same time, there is a profound concern for the future of the country, in which the people's motivations often weaken because they feel that their deepest values are being threatened. Nevertheless, calm and trust radiated out of the sermon, trust that "God will find a solution where man with all his principles does not see an alternative or a way out."

Such an understanding of policy, not as a struggle with authority or for authority, but, as John Paul II said, "as cautious concern for the common good, is

the essential part of the Church's mission, a Church which, above all, preaches faith and trust in God, but also "cannot forsake man."

This concern is also expressed in an article by Andrzej Micewski, "Dialogue and the Golden Mean," which was published in the 8 August 1985 issue of NIEDZIELA next to the text of the Primate's sermon. In his article, Micewski warns against a superficial, empty dialogue. He indicates the fields in which it should be conducted and to the social need for the existence of institutions and organizations which would establish a political center of moderation and compromise in a divided society. This is a very complex and difficult matter. Personally, I have reservations as to the "golden mean" formula, because it may be associated with indecision and use of devious ends to achieve goals. Nevertheless, the analysis of the social situation in Poland, as presented in this article, and the warning that it contains that no one can implement his own model of policy and overcome the crisis without convincing a lot of other people, is based on a sense of reality. And here the author is right: in our already mature and pluralistic society every serious social action requires agreement, a social consensus. And in order to achieve it, a lot of wise, "predictable" (as Micewski writes), moderate and socially credible people are needed. Not naive, and very patient, people.

9295

CSO: 2600/44

POLAND

READERS PROTEST CATHOLIC PRESS PAPER 'SHORTAGE'

Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish No 38, 22 Sep 85 p 7

[Editor's preface followed by letters to the editor]

[Text] We have received many letters in connection with the paper difficulties which were responsible for the fact that six issues of GOSC were not published in recent months. The readers became concerned about the situation in which our newspaper found itself. In addition to the voices of concern, there were also protests. Our readers have not been and are not able to understand why the Catholic press, whose development has already been restricted due to strict limitations on circulation, size and format, is subjected to paper limitations while other newspapers are not having the same problems or not to the same degree. This is not surprising, considering past experience. After all, experience has shown that temporary difficulties became permanent, and temporary reductions became final solutions. GOSC NIEDZIELNY is an example of this. From a weekly which prior to World War II had 28 pages, it became a small eight-page newspaper, and it has even appeared on four, small-format pages. Hence the strong reactions and the fear as to the future.

We hope that this time history will not repeat itself. We have been assured that future deliveries of paper for GOSC will be normal. Nevertheless, we, too, are disturbed. The moral losses which we suffered (we, the editors, and all of our readers) as a result of the restrictions, are, after all, incommensurate with the "profit" which was received. We are talking, in any case, about a truly insignificant amount of paper which was saved as a result of the restrictions (scarcely 40 tons of paper over the course of a year).

But let us hear from our readers.

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I am disturbed by the situation which has affected GOSC. The newspaper, which for 62 years appears in Silesia, and has survived through so many bad years, is again beginning to have difficulties. I do not have to explain what GOSC is for us Catholics. I even remember when GOSC for the first time was a guest in the Silesian homes. There was great joy. And we were very proud that in Silesia we have our own newspaper which speaks to us in our own, Polish and Catholic, voice. And we felt the same way when after the war GOSC again began to be published, in order to again inspire us with its good word and stimulate us to a new life. But why say any more: I simply do not imagine my life without GOSC.

I know that the cause of GOSC's present difficulty is paper. Of course, it is strange that there is a shortage of paper for the Catholic press while somehow there seems to be enough for the other newspapers. But I have lived through a great deal and nothing surprises me. It is sad, however, that a newspaper which flourished so beautifully before the war has been relegated to the role of a small newspaper such as factories publish for their employees, despite the increase in readership and its influence over all of Poland. Is this normal?

Obviously, I do not intend to lose hope. I am an optimist. If I were not, I would probably not have lived to be 80. Therefore, I believe that good sense will prevail. And I wish you a great deal of fortitude and endurance. You are publishing a good and necessary newspaper, a newspaper for which we are always waiting.

Rudolf Czyz, Bytom

What is happening with GOSC? Why doesn't it appear regularly? I was astounded to hear that there wasn't enough paper to print it. Is this possible? And why was there enough paper for the other newspapers, which I will not name so as not to be accused of malice. But the fact is, and it is easy to prove, that many papers are constantly unsold in the kiosks. But there was no shortage of paper for them.

Naturally, that is not the only paradox in our Polish life and situation. I do not want to go more deeply into the causes of this. I am interested only in GOSC. I have been reading it for a long time, and that is why I attach a real importance to it. And I think that I am not alone. Furthermore, it is not just a case of GOSC. I know that other church newspapers are also having similar difficulties. So what is the problem?

I write about this with the hope that the editors will not ignore my voice. Personally, I have no influence on the paper economy of this country, but I think that I cannot be passive in the face of the unfair treatment of the Catholic community, which surely has a full right to a religious press and well as to a choice of its newspapers.

Jozef Piotrowski, Wodzislav

Why doesn't GOSC NIEDZIELNY appear regularly? The editor's explanation that there is a shortage of paper doesn't convince me at all. After all, the paper is there. The best proof of that is the fact that other newspapers are appearing without interruption. And there are newspapers which lie in the kiosks and no one buys them. This can be verified. And furthermore, not all papers are the same. What good purpose do such weeklies serve as, for example, those which publish literature which is almost pornographic (if necessary, I will cite examples), or print pictures of nude women, or publish stories about flying saucers, pseudo-normal phenomena, astrological forecasts, and similar materials. And how can we talk about a "reasonable" approach to reality when we are dealing with nonsense?

I am not demanding special privileges for myself and other Catholics, but I am concerned about fair treatment for everyone. From one of the explanations published by the editors I learned that the church press receives scarcely 1.1 percent of the newsprint used in Poland. Could it be that Catholics in this country really constitute such an insignificant minority?

I think that his misconception will quickly explain itself. But I think that it is not just a matter of GOSC. PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI has been appearing for some time in a reduced size, and TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY cannot be bought at all. What kind of times are these when the newspapers which millions of people want to buy are restricted in various ways, and the newspapers which people are not buying appear in millions of copies... Something like this can only be a dream. But it is not a dream. It is reality.

Andrzej S., Krakow

It is said that there is no paper. But, after all, the paper is there. Why, for example, is so little wastepaper collected? I, alone, throw at least several kilograms of old newspapers into the trash every month. And others who live in my home and community and town, and the entire country, do the same. Why? Very simply because I don't know who and where collects wastepaper. And certainly it is hard to expect that I should put an ad in the newspaper saying, "I am looking for collectors of old newspapers." The wastepaper collection campaign must be organized and conducted sensibly. In any case, it is not just wastepaper that is being wasted in our country. Other valuable raw materials are also being wasted. If someone were to concern himself with this situation, and do so seriously, there would not be these constant shortages.

Jadwiga Borucka, Przemysl

Please send me 36 zlotys for the six issues of GOSC which did not appear recently. I subscribed to GOSC for a whole year, and paid the money to RUCH. In return I was supposed to receive 52 issues and actually received 46. Who made money on this: GOSC or RUCH, because somehow I have heard nothing about a refund, and certainly we are due one...

Helena T., Pulawy

FROM THE EDITOR: RUCH, which took the subscription, is obliged to refund the amount due for the issues which did not appear. I expect that it has already begun this complicated task.

9295
CSO: 2600/44

POLAND

PRE-ELECTION ACTIVITIES, REPORTS

Union Problems With Nominations

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Aug 85 p 2

[Text] "The future Sejm should bring together the best, most enlightened Poles, the patriots of their socialist homeland. Unionists who will represent responsibly and fairly the interests of the working men should be in their ranks." This quotation from the union election address was recalled during the debate, on 1 Aug 1985, of the Executive Committee of the National Federation of Labor Unions [OPZZ].

The regenerated trade unions have actively joined the electoral campaign for the PRL Sejm. Their representatives took part in working out the voting regulations and election platform of The Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth [PRON] and joined the election convents.

We see these elections, said Zbigniew Cierpka, deputy chairman of the OPZZ, as a great chance for our young movement. We want to regain the position in the PRL Sejm which the trade-unions had in the first years after liberation, for history showed that minimal participation of the unionists in the parliament was not good for the country.

Recalled were also the words of First CC PZPR Secretary General Wojciech Jaruzelski, during the debate (13 July) "The unionists must be fairly represented in the Sejm (...) their participation in elections is the opportunity to reaffirm the position and role of a leader in one's own country.

It appears that the unionists have difficulties in choosing their representatives as "candidates for candidacy." Suffice it to say that up to now only 16 out of 49 Voivodeship Federations of Labor Unions [WPZZ] and 12 out of 26 unions submitted their proposals. In the aggregate, the list includes 126 names which along with short biographies of candidates were presented to the executive committee of the OPZZ for acceptance.

Also established was a schedule of activities in the Sejm electoral campaign, concerning publicity for candidates as well as that of the election program of labor unions.

In the second part of the debate, the executive committee of the OPZZ defined the principles of financing the WPZZ which are regional branches of the OPZZ.

Leszek Brojanowski, OPZZ deputy chairman, has informed the members of the executive committee of a law passed by the Sejm on 31 July 1985, concerning the amendment of regulations that define economic efficiency in terms of requirements of the further socioeconomic development of the country.

Wroclaw Election Candidates Nominated

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Aug 85 p 2

[Text] The Wroclaw Voivodeship Election Board is already receiving the first nominations of candidates from organizations and associations. The election board has already approved four candidates. Nominations by the party organizations and political parties are expected to arrive soon. Candidates' names were recently submitted by poultry breeders, the Association of Polish Students and the Patriotic Association "Grunwald." In sum, in the three electoral districts in the Wroclaw Voivodeship, which include the city of Wroclaw, voters will elect 12 deputies from among 24 candidates.

The Voivodeship Election Board [WKW] which comprises 20 members including the chairman, Prof Roman Smolik (who is at the same time the chairman of the RW PRON [Election Council of PRON]), decided to keep current in examining each candidate, to avoid the accumulation of work. The members of the WKW work continuously. The telephone rings almost every minute. The Wroclaw voters are inquiring about all kinds of problems connected with the elections. Many inquiries concern the board itself, its tasks, its function, etc. People also ask who is entitled to nominate candidates, and what is the procedure connected with it. According to Wiktor Banczyg, deputy office manager of the WKW, interest in the elections is very great.

Journalists Meet Journalist-Candidates

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Aug 85 p 2

[Text] On 1 Aug 85 there was held at the Main Administration of the PRL Journalist Association [SD/PRL] a meeting of the authorities of this association for the purpose of the presentation of journalist-candidates for Sejm deputies.

In a discussion it was pointed out that the present electoral campaign has a different character from those previous. The task of the journalist community is at present the creation of a propagandist setting for this important event in the history of our country.

Participants in the meeting acquainted themselves with the names and backgrounds of journalists put in for election as deputies for the 9th term of the Sejm. It was ascertained that the main board of directors supports all the proposals put forward to date.

The address was adopted in which the Main Administration of the SD/PRL appeals to its members to take part in a great political and social campaign, whose results will affect the future of socialist Poland, our national existence and the lives of each of us. The document emphasizes that journalists should fully and fairly present the candidates, their views, achievements, arguments and attitudes, and opinions on the most vital interests of Poland. "We must know how to show the common national aims and tasks that will permit the people to rise above divisions, distrust, indifference, and wait-and-see attitude," says the address.

'Candidacy to be Candidates' Observed

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Aug 85 p 2

[Text] Until 7 Aug 85 the Voivodeship Election Convents are receiving proposals for the 'Candidacy to be Candidates' for Sejm, put forward by mass organizations. As is well known, this right was granted by the voting regulations to 474 to nationwide social organizations, among others to labor unions, farmer organizations, socialist unions of youth, combatants and women.

Such a vast number of those entitled to nominate candidates for deputy has opened the possibility for citizens to influence the composition of our parliament. On 7 Aug 85 the term for the acceptance of proposals for the district lists expires. This is a busy time of important work for the election boards. The next phase of their action will be a momentous selection of the received proposals. As local PAP correspondents inform us, the smaller number of seats allotted for the given voivodeship, the more discerning and difficult is the analysis of the backgrounds of the would-be candidates.

In the Gorzow Voivodeship one must appoint 10 persons that will compete for five seats available for this district. Edward Jaworski, secretary of the Voivodeship Convent, states: "We know from conversations with representatives of various organizations that each proposal was accompanied by a long, often stormy discussion. Some candidates--on second thoughts--resigned, thinking that they will not be able to cope with tasks with which the 9th Sejm is faced. We also notice that organizations themselves, with passage of time, tighten of the criteria and sent fewer names than previously intended." "In the PZPR Voivodeship Organization," said Marian Kunik, manager of the Politico-Organizational Department of the Executive Committee, "we have started to campaign with meetings of the POP [Primary Party Organization]. It was there too, in the first place, that was considered to whom the Party recommendation should be extended. Nominations were made very thoughtfully, and therefore it never occurred that a candidature was not approved by the superior authority. In the Voivodeship Organization we took into consideration the names of 20 persons, PZPR members. Naturally, there will be fewer names on the list of candidates."

The plant PZPR organizations in Grudziadz presented candidatures of a dozen or so persons, taking into account only the worthiest workers and social

leaders, men of irreproachable ethics. After the initial selection of the first, rather large group of candidates, says Edward Czerniakowski, secretary of the PZPR town committee, we analyzed separately and repeatedly each proposal, for we decided to present only 3 names to the Voivodeship Committee. Each candidature was then submitted to a consultation with social and political organizations. In short, we want that "our" candidates be approved not only by the parent OOP [District Party Organization] or POP [Primary Party Organization] but also by youth, women, union and self-management organization. This principle was also adopted, for example, on the synthetic Fiber Plant "Elana" at Torun. A joint candidate became here 38 old foreman from the Polymerization Department. He is a union leader of long standing, member of the plant newspaper college, organizer of physical culture, a very popular person in the plant, esteemed for doggedness with which he defends his opinions, and for skill with which he is arguing them.

In the Wroclaw "Pafawag" it was decided to submit to an outside investigation the 2 candidatures. Initially, dozens of names were examined--mainly persons with a long occupational training, having a social passion, energetic and willing to work for the community. In the opinion of the workforce, no candidate should have parochial, purely local inclinations. Therefore, as one of the criteria in the selection we stipulated a broadminded intellectual horizon of the potential candidate, notes Jan Michalski, secretary of the PZPR KZ [PZPR Plant Committee]. The first candidates selected by the OOP did not pass a closer consultation with the Plant cell of the PRON [The Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth] and NSZZ of the "Parawag" Workers. They did not meet fully the aforesaid requirements, although each of them was excellent worker and workmate. The selection was started anew. Ultimately, two names were singled out. They were approved by the PZPR City Section Committee. These peculiar "pre-elections" in the plant were won by a chairman of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] Plant Committee and by a foreman from the Department of the Chief Engineer.

Voters Meet Candidates

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Aug 85 pp 1,2

[Text] The voivodeship convents consider with careful insight, at meetings lasting for hours, each candidature submitted by the social and political organizations of their region. Such considerations are not easy, for they require not only a strict compliance with regulations of the election law, but also the knowledge of local realities and public feeling, as well as the skill of a correct estimate of personal values of each candidate.

On Saturday, the Warsaw Voivodeship Election Convent was holding its deliberations. After a long discussion, from among 232 of the submitted names 100 names were selected that will participate in consultative meetings with the constituents. As is well known, Warsaw is being allotted 27 seats. From the silhouettes of the presented candidates it followed that each of them was previously thoroughly evaluated in their own milieu or organization, and that he enjoys influence and public confidence. Taking this

into consideration, the Convent singled out in the first place the candidates that won the support of more than one qualified organization. It was also endeavored that in the selected group of candidates there should be representatives of all the milieus of the metropolitan voivodeship.

The Tarnobrzeg Voivodeship Convent will present to voters 28 candidates running for six seats. Twenty public consultative meetings with the participation of all or several candidates were planned. The majority of these meetings will be held in the leading workplaces of the region, among others in the "Stalowa Wola" steel mill and in the Tarnobrzeg "Siarkopol."

Over 70 candidates, from which 14 deputies will be selected registered by the Krakow Convent. In this group there are 10 persons recommended by the WPZZ [Voivodeship Federation of Labor Unions]. The WPZZ decision was preceded by elaborate consultations and meetings with candidates to be candidates.

Standing before the body of workers in the factories, they had to answer questions concerning actual problems of the union activity, the needs of the region, and matters of a nationwide significance. Interest was also taken, for example, in the family situation of the candidate, and in his outlook on life. It is significant, noted Jozef Mroczek, chairman of the Krakow WPZZ, that much time, during these initial meetings with candidates to be candidates, was devoted to problems of the implementation of the conclusions from the election campaigns for the people's councils.

The Piotrkow Voivodeship was allotted by a decision of the State Council 7 deputy seats, which is proportional to the number of inhabitants of this region. Twenty-seven persons will compete for these seats. They will introduce themselves to the electors at 43 public meetings, which will start on 15 Aug 85. These candidates to be candidates won, in the majority of cases, the support of several social and political organizations. Twenty-two among them are union leaders; 5 work actively in youth organizations. The majority of candidates have a university education. This group includes 4 farmers and six workmen.

1015
CSO: 2600/1027

POLAND

PUBLIC BLAMED FOR LACK OF ELECTION PARTICIPATION

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 24 Aug 85 p 2

[Quotation from interview with Dr. Andrzej Pawliszewski, chairman of the Provincial Electoral Convention in Katowice, by Hanka Jarosz-Jalowicka in TAK I NIE on 9 August]

[Text] [Question] Does the public become more active in the campaign, or do the deputies become more active during the period of the elections? (...)

[Answer] Our laws are very democratic. They give enormous authority to the public, but it is not able or does not want to use it, and the deputy has to force the public into movement. This is a reversed situation, since in principle the public should do this with respect to him. Unfortunately, the public does not know how and does not want to use its authority.

9909
CSO: 2600/1042

PRE-ELECTION COVERAGE, ACTIVITIES

Policy of Listing Affiliations Noted

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 Sep 85 p 2

[Article by (rys): "How About the Affiliations?"]

[Text] After we published, on 10 September, the list of candidates for deputies to the Sejm submitted by the Provincial Elections Advisory Council in Warsaw, a list containing 54 names, one of our readers telephoned to ask, "Why don't you give the candidates' party affiliations?"

What does the electoral law say? Let us begin with how things stand now, in what is already another stage in the elections campaign. The law says (in art 61) that "the district electoral roll is divided into particular seats in the Sejm; next to each seat there are listed, in the order established by the advisory council, two candidates, giving the name, age, occupation, place of employment, and address. On the national elections roll, which contains as many candidates as there are seats in this list (50, let us remember) the above-listed data is to be included also. Therefore, on the rolls of candidates, according to the law, party affiliation is not given.

However, during the previous phase of the elections campaign it was like this: In the lists of persons nominated for candidates for deputies, published in the press (ZYCIE WARSZAWY published a list of 100 candidates nominated by the Warsaw Elections Advisory Council on 13 August) not only was the name, address, age, occupation and place of employment given, but also the organizational affiliation (not just party, but also union, society, and political and social functions. Furthermore, at every civic advisory meeting, the representatives of the advisory councils gave a rather thorough description of the candidates, relating not only their characteristics, but also which organization, association, or union, recommended them. The mass media—press, radio and television—also gave information on persons competing for deputy positions, describing in detail who they were.

The same applies to the national list.

However, if the rolls of candidates for deputies now submitted by the elections advisory councils and published by the electoral commissions do not contain data

on party or organization affiliation, it is not in order to conceal or ignore something. What is important is to emphasize that the persons nominated jointly represent a single organization which affiliates the PZPR, the other political parties, the Catholic organizations, the secular organizations, and social, professional and arts organizations, in a word the vast, broad representation of all of the people. Of course, we are referring to the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

Any day now the next phase of the elections campaign will begin, the meetings with the candidates. There will be an opportunity, therefore, to still find out what is of particular interest to us. I think that the elections information centers also exist for this purpose (I saw their addresses and telephone numbers on notices pasted on numerous shop windows and buildings). They should have all of the data of interest to the voters. The provincial advisory councils do not function anonymously and do not hide their addresses. For example, in Warsaw the council's office is in Corrazianski Palace (Dzierzynski Square 3/5, telephone 20-46-80).

Editorial Comment Says Vote is Right

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14-15 Sep 85 p 1

[Article by publications editor: "Exercise Your Right to Vote"]

[Text] "Elections are universal, every citizen who on election day is at least 18 years old has the right to vote without regard to gender, nationality, race, religion, education, time of residence in voting district, social origin, occupation, or financial status. That is how the law on elections to the Sejm reads. The universal right to vote is the basic principle of democratic elections. But no law is self-implementing.

Voters registration lists have already been prepared in the voting districts. Everyone who is eligible to vote should verify whether he is on the list. This democratic right is also a civic duty, to oneself and to one's country.

As of the 15th of this month voters registration lists are available for inspection in district elections commission offices.

Voters Registration Lists Posted

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Sep 85 p 1

[Text] Sunday, the 15th, was the first day that citizens eligible to vote could check the voters lists posted in the district elections commissions offices. The lists can be checked for at least 14 days, and the offices in which they are posted will be open for 5 hours each day during the hours most suitable for the working people.

Meetings With Candidates

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Sep 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] (PAP) On Saturday and Sunday, meetings, rallies and banquets were held at which candidates for deputy were present. All of them provided an opportunity to take a closer look at the future deputies and to jointly consider the possibility of taking up matters of importance to the country.

During the course of the elections campaign many relevant and concrete proposals contained in the PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth) declarations came to light. In talking with the deputies, the citizens are saying that our difficulties will not go away simply by ignoring them or by waiting for them to disappear. They must be dealt with actively. The conclusion of many is also that in the next Sejm the deputies cannot settle only the popular matters. Society expects them to deal with the right matters, even if they are difficult, on condition that they are based on the continuation of renewal and strengthening of the idea of agreement, on the process of healing the economy and the rebirth of individual initiative.

PRON Catholic Groups Urges Voting

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] (PAP) Assembled on 14 September in Warsaw, representatives of the PZKS (Polish Catholic Social Union), active in PRON organizations, voting commissions and advisory councils, and the candidates for deputies recommended by this Union, reported to the broad aktiv on the course of the first round of consultations with citizens.

An evaluation of discussions with voters was made during an exhaustive discussion conducted by the president of the PZKS, Zbigniew Zielinski. A resolution was passed which defines the position of the PZKS in elections to the Sejm. With the deepest conviction that Poland, the fatherland of all Poles, must have internal peace and agreement, universal consolidation around great and difficult nationwide goals, those attending the meeting appealed to all Poles to participate in the elections campaign.

ZSL Meeting on Election Participation

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] (PAP) On 14 September in the ZSL Supreme Committee a conference was held by members of the ZSL Presidium responsible for organizational matters. Bogdan Krolewski, secretary of the Supreme Committee and Presidium member, was chairman.

Kazimierz Fortuna, member of the secretariat and director of the Organizational Department of the ZSL Supreme Committee, reported on the course of the elections campaign to the Sejm and tasks for the immediate future.

Roman Szarek, secretary of the ZSL Supreme Committee and Presidium member, also was present at the conference.

Review of Goals of Candidates' Meetings

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Sep 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by (Jas.): "Voters Decided Choice of Candidates for Deputies"]

[Text] In 2,261 voters' meetings, 120 more than previously planned, each of which lasted from two and a half to four hours, attended by 190 to 300 people at each meeting, the voters became acquainted with the recommended candidates for candidates for the Sejm's ninth term, discussed the PRON Elections Declaration, submitted their opinions and suggestions as to the activities of the new parliament, and commented on the candidates.

The meetings were attended by 1,682 candidates competing for district seats and 50 candidates from the national list.

The above-cited data, together with an assessment of the first stage of the pre-elections campaign, were presented at a press conference on 16 September by the secretary general of the PRON National Council, Jerzy Jaskiernia. He stressed that in accordance with the provisions of the elections law, and thanks to the application of new legal solutions, the voters, through a formula of approval or the expression of reservations, had a deciding influence on the final selection of candidates for deputies. As a result of the meetings held, the provincial elections advisory councils modified and changed the lists of candidates, taking the opinions of the citizens into account. In describing the discussions at the meetings, Jaskiernia said that PRON's Elections Declaration met with general approval. At the same time, many of those speaking out raised the problem of the full implementation of postulates and courses of action contained in the declaration.

Much of what those attending the meetings said concerned local and community problems, showing indirectly that programs established during the elections campaign to the people's councils are not always being correctly and fully implemented. Of the problems disturbing the voters, those brought up most frequently included environmental protection, housing construction, stability of agriculture policy, social justice, and maintenance of law and order. It was postulated that the next Sejm give even greater attention to observance of the law, and execution of plans already approved, in order that it fully fulfill a control function over the administration. The young voters demanded a law on youth, while the older people asked that legislative work on laws on social consultation be speeded up. The need to update the law on associations was pointed out, as well as decisions relating to the possible formation of a Citizens' Rights Guardian institution. Invariably, the necessity of maintaining ties between deputies and voters during the entire parliamentary term was brought up.

In describing the second stage of the pre-elections campaign, the meetings with the candidates for deputies, Jaskiernia said that we should expect that the center of gravity will shift: It is not the personnel matters that should dominate (the selection of candidates as during the period of consultative meetings) but matters of substance--problems relating to socioeconomic matters,

international affairs, legislative policy and practice, and concretization of the Sejm's control function. The interest shown by voters in meeting the candidates for deputies confirms the results of a public opinion poll: the interest in elections to the Sejm is growing.

The secretary general of the PRON National Council answered questions from domestic and foreign journalists on matters relating to PRON principles on expanding the platform of cooperation of various social groups, the practice of exercising authority by coalition, and increasing the number of nonparty candidates for deputies.

Organizations Sponsor Candidate Meeting

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 24 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] (PAP) One thing cannot be said about these meetings--that they are boring. Not for a long time have I heard people speak so directly and sharply about what they are thinking as did the voters at these meetings. No one, neither the candidates or those attending the meetings, wants to talk about an insufficiently defined "further improvement" or "acceleration of development." "We do not want to be bystanders," said Prof Jan Kaczmarek, president of the Chief Technical Organization, which, together with the Polish Economics Society and the Scientific Society for Organization and Management, organized a meeting with voters for Monday, 23 September. Prof Kaczmarek said that in his own name as well as that of several other candidates for deputy, including Wladyslaw Szymanski, Wincenty Lewandowski, Kazimierz Ryniewicz and Aleksander Legatowicz.

Nor did it appear that the representatives of the engineering community, the economists and organizers of our economic life, assembled in the hall, want to be bystanders, either. Rarely does one hear such penetrating, although limited by time, utterances. Prof Urszula Plowiec, economist, called our price policy our Achilles heel, pointing out that most often no one is able to compute the profitability of technical progress at the enterprise level, that contractual prices generally are established according to the rule that "the higher the cost, the higher the profit," which is conducive to waste. Prof Bogdan Wawrzyniak, representative of the Scientific Society for Organization and Management, said that in matters of management we are still in the stage of faith in the effectiveness of appeals directed at the goodwill of the workforces, directors or bureaucrats, and as a result, there are no clear rules in cadre policy. And in the formation of plans for the future we should concentrate on opportunities and capabilities, and not on threats, otherwise this will become a study of limitations and not prospects for the future.

Prof Stanislaw Komorowski, chairman of the NOT (Chief Technical Organization) Committee for Economics and Economic Reform, spoke fervently (and was applauded by those in the hall) on factory wage systems and superficial economic analyses.

No one checks costs of production, said Prof. Szymanski, one of the candidates for deputy, an economist and member of the Commission for Economic Reform. Over 50 percent of the enterprises in Warsaw Province have obtained reductions

in taxes and have also obtained subsidies, money is still easy to get, and the managers of enterprises say that often it is better for them to produce junk and pay fines than to be concerned about the modernity and quality of products. Even allowing for a certain amount of exaggeration in these statements, there is no way they can be ignored in the elections fervor.

There were warnings also against paralysis, apathy and defensiveness. The candidates for deputy were also implored that should they find themselves in the next Sejm, they should remember not only to make laws, but to supervise and check on how their programs are being accomplished. There was talk about the necessity for taking responsibility for the plans and obligations which have been undertaken and not fulfilled.

Some thought should be given to utilizing the energy and reaction vitality shown at this and similar meetings in order to push matters forward. If we thought as intensively and implemented our thoughts in the between-elections period, perhaps there would be fewer bitter and sharp utterances at elections meetings. After all, what comes to light at these meetings is the need to participate.

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We want a modern economy, with shelves fully stocked with good-quality goods. There is no way we can achieve this without technical progress. Technical progress requires allies. Those were the most important themes in the discussion which took place in NOT during the pre-elections meeting of the engineering community in Lodz with the following candidates for deputy: Tadeusz Czechowicz, Politburo member and first secretary of the PZPR Lodz Committee; Mieczyslaw Serwinski, chairman of the Lodz People's Council; and Adam Junk, director of DYWILAN Carpet Factory.

Why are the young engineers so passive? Why is their input into the economic development of our country so incommensurate with their capabilities? One of the voters, an engineer from FAMPS (in Cieplica), Zbigniew Manugiewicz, attempted to answer these questions at one of the meeting which was held in Jelenia Gora, with Tadeusz Porebski, PZPR Central Committee and Politburo member, candidate for deputy on the national roll, in attendance. His reply was that, unfortunately, the young and capable are not generally evaluated according to their actual work achievements.

9295

CSO: 2600/33

POLAND

PZPR IDEOLOGICAL COMMITTEE WORK ON PARTY PROGRAM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Sep 85 pp 1,2

[Article by Tadeusz Sochacki: "Realism and Prospects: Discussion of the Party Program"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory and the improvement of socio-economic practice determined the main lines of discussion of the outline of the Program of the Polish United Workers' Party that took place at the meeting of the Ideological Committee of the CC on 5 September in Warsaw.

/Josef Czyrek/, member of the Politburo and CC Secretary, opened the meeting and the introduction to the discussion was given by CC Secretary /Henryk Bednarski/. He emphasized the importance and advanced state of work on the working version of the Party Program, which still requires substantive and formal corrections. The lively, broad discussion, which included polemic accents, have brought the final form of the Party Program significantly closer.

In the discussion of the version presented, the great progress made in comparison to the original proposals was emphasized; however, attention was drawn to the remaining faults. Above all, this version was judged too broad, and declarations decidedly outnumbered tasks. /It was decided to make the program more concrete and to define the deadlines for completing the outlined plans so that the program would have a more mobilizing effect and would awaken greater trust and make executing it easier./ Basically, this means taking our socio-political realities and the peculiarities of our agriculture into account.

/At present and for the future socio-economic progress and raising the quality of our life is most important./ Science--in particular scientific-technological progress--would become the source of this acceleration.

This version of the program is still too short on concrete proposals.

/Much has been said about the position, significance, and problems of the working class and the changes taking place in it./ More forceful emphasis

on the totality of problems of the younger generation of Poles is also essential. The language of this version was also criticized for muddiness, ambiguity in the definitions of concepts, incoherence, and stylistic uniformity of the version as a whole. The Party Program, which is to be adopted by the Tenth Congress must be a document not only of internal but international significance. Friends and enemies will judge it. It must express our positions on the current problems of the world, on the intensifying political and ideological struggle, and on the most important current issue --war and peace--more adequately.

Comrade /Jozef Czyrek/ summarized the discussion. He stated that the most valuable observations will be adopted by the Ideological Committee of the CC and the editors in their further work on the proposed Party Program. He also emphasized that some proposed corrections could appear in the theses for the 10th Party Congress or in its resolutions. The program adopted at the 10th Congress of the party should serve to build socialism in Poland, the best use of universal principles in our Polish reality.

Thirteen speakers participated in the discussion of the proposed program: /A. Czyz, A. Krzysztowski, J. Woloch, N. Michta, Wl. Sokorski, H. Andrzejewski, Z. Grzelak, Z. Szulc, Cz. Stepień, R. Brodowicz, W. Namietkiewicz, K. Kwiatkowski, St. Wronski./

In the next item on the agenda of the meeting of the Ideological Committee, Comrade Jerzy Majka, director of the Information Section, informed the meeting about the creation of the Center for Political and Propaganda Studies at the ANS [Academy of Social Sciences] and its goals and tasks.

The Ideological Committee also familiarized itself with information on the strategy and tactics for influencing Poland used by the imperialist centers of diversion and their influence of their activities on the actions of our domestic opponents.

13021

CSO: 2600/22

POLAND

PZPR CC'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS CHIEF ON UNITED NATIONS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Sep 85 pp 1,7

[Interview with Wlodzimierz Natorf, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Section of the PZPR CC, conducted by Tadeusz Szkamruk on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the United Nations, date and place not specified: "Strengths and Weaknesses of the United Nations"]

[Text] The 40th anniversary of the United Nations occurs soon. All over the world people are preparing for the jubilee session of the General Assembly, in which many heads of state and government are expected to participate.

In Poland, representatives of society are participating in the preparation of the text of the speech to be read at the General Assembly by the Premier of the PRL by suggesting subjects appropriate for a speech in that forum. Undoubtedly, the hopes of mankind for a relaxation of tensions in current international relations, a return to detente, and dialogue as a method for resolving conflicts are linked with this anniversary session of the United Nations.

A PAP journalist has interviewed Wlodzimierz Natorf, the Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Section of the PZPR CC, who was until recently the permanent representative of the PRL at the United Nations in New York and at the beginning of the 1970s was at the European Bureau of the United Nations in Geneva, about the role of the United Nations in international life, the influence of this organization on the development of relations in the contemporary world.

[Question] What role does the session of the General Assembly play and what influence can the current anniversary session have on international relations? What will happen during it?

[Answer] Sessions of the General Assembly are held every year, last more than three months, and review all the activities of the United Nations. The agenda for each day usually has around 130 items; thus, many different problems and subjects require debate. These take place at full sessions and in seven general committees. There are committees that deal with general political and disarmament issues. Separate committees debate economic questions, social and human-rights issues, and legal matters, etc. Practically speaking the entire range of United Nations activities is reviewed; a program of action is outlined for the entire system of United Nations organizations.

It is particularly important that the foreign ministers of all countries come to the sessions of the General Assembly, and it has become a tradition that several heads of state come each year to conduct talks, to meet with representatives of other countries, and to speak.

The 40th anniversary session, we hope, will play a special role. Many heads of state and governments, representing all regions of the world, have indicated they will attend. They will come to the United Nations in two groups. As is generally known, some will take part in the general debates in September, but the majority will come for 21-24 October, for the actual 40th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations.

It is worth recalling that Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski emphasized the particular responsibility of heads of state and governments for the current state of international relations, for world peace in his speech on the 40th anniversary of the PRL. The preparations for the anniversary of the United Nations can be regarded as a proper reflection of this thesis. Clearly, a meeting of the leaders itself cannot solve all of the complicated problems. We know that conflicts of interest are great. Conflicts and tension exist in the world. The good will of the leaders, their contacts, and talks can, however, create a good basis for improving the international situation, relaxing tensions, improving mutual understanding. We hope that just this will happen during the anniversary session of the United Nations during the talks of the leaders.

[Question] We sometimes hear that the United Nations is in crisis. Mr. Ambassador, you have personally participated in the work of this organization. How do you evaluate the role of the United Nations in shaping the world and the effectiveness of the decisions made there?

[Answer] I know the question is controversial and that there is no simple answer. The United Nations was founded as a result of the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition in the Second World War, as if a result of the catastrophe of war. The Charter of the United Nations establishes the extremely ambitious, worthwhile goals of preserving peace and increasing international security. The man in the street frequently asks what this organization has done over 40 years to realize these goals if we compare its actions with reality. For practical purposes, since the end of the Second World War the guns have never been silent, conflicts have continued, wars have been fought, and people have died.

On the other hand, we must consider what the world might be like if this organization did not exist. Surely, the United Nations has engaged itself in the peaceful resolution of various conflicts in many regions of the world. Critics of the United Nations are right when they state that the organization has not protected mankind from wars and conflicts. However, its defenders are right when they state that these same conflicts without the peace forces of the United Nations, for example, without the resolutions of the Security Council, without the mediation of the General Secretary would have lasted significantly longer, been more intense, or created a real threat of becoming global conflicts.

Therefore, without overestimating the role of the United Nations, I believe that on the basis of 30 years of experience and observation that the organization plays a positive role. Besides conflicts and disarmament negotiations the United Nations plays a significant role in regulating international economic and social relations. We frequently refer to it as the infrastructure of peaceful resolutions or of peaceful relations. Acting on a proposal by the Soviet Union, the United Nations passed a declaration calling for the liquidation of colonialism. Today no one negates the constructive role of the United Nations in decolonialization, in defending the newly freed states from the neocolonial policies of the imperialistic countries. The United Nations gave the developing countries economic aid, has endeavored to limit the economic aggression of some Western countries, has developed constructive economic relations within East-West and European cooperation. Thus, the organization has created much good in many different areas.

[Question] Poland was one of the founders of the United Nations. Throughout the entire 40 year period, our country has participated in the work of this organization. What would you number among the important Polish proposals to this forum? What can be regarded as the most important Polish contribution to the activities of the United Nations?

[Answer] Yes, Poland has always been active in the United Nations, although there was a 2- or 3- year period of difficulty when an attempt was made to isolate Poland in the international arena, which was reflected also at the United Nations. Fortunately, this period has already ended. Some of our proposals to the United Nations may have already been forgotten. We should recall that in 1946 Zygmunt Modzelewski, then Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, proposed that atomic energy be used only for peaceful purposes and that atomic weapons not be included in the arsenals of United Nations member countries. Most widely known is the proposal of Minister Adam Rapacki announced in 1957 that called for a nuclear free zone in Central Europe. This proposal was not adopted, but I would like to emphasize that it became known as the Rapacki plan, became a part of the history of international relations, and, most importantly, has remained alive as an idea in the form of the creation of similar zones in other regions (Latin America, for example) and in an altered form in the creation of peace zones, zones free of chemical weapons, etc.

There have been a number of other important Polish proposals. In 1964 at the United Nations Rapacki returned to the idea of calling a conference for security and cooperation in Europe that began the preparation of the Helsinki conference, whose 10th anniversary was celebrated recently.

We have also made proposals in other areas. Poland proposed a declaration making countries sovereign over their natural resources. The UN's decision in this matter created a real basis for the former colonies to regain full economic independence, too. We have also proposed resolutions condemning Nazism and all ideologies based on terror, intolerance, or recently, the ideal of educating societies for peace. This latter resolution was adopted in 1978 and since then the United Nations has reviewed compliance with it every three years. Finally, we should recall our most recent proposal concerning children's rights or security in international economic relations.

As regards Polish contributions in other forms, we can mention the contribution of Polish specialists to the creation of UNICEF, an organization that aids children. Polish doctors participated in founding it and were among its first activists. This fact was mentioned during the colloquium organized by UNICEF at the beginning of September in Warsaw.

Another area of United Nations activity in which Polish contributions have been particularly large and valued are the peace forces of the United Nations. Poland, in a sense, has specialized in this area. Our military contingents are presently active in the Middle East. We have participated in international monitoring commissions in Korea, Indochina, and Nigeria. In the Security Council Poland is known as a partner that always gladly participates in efforts to resolve conflicts peacefully. For example, we are one of the few countries, other than the permanent members of the Security Council, that has been a member four times during the 40 year history of this council, most recently in 1982-83.

Our contributions have also included presiding over many varied institutions of the United Nations. Stanislaw Trepczynski presided over the General Assembly in 1972. Many of our ambassadors presided over particular committees of the General Assembly, and other of our representatives have presided over functional commissions, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, etc. I personally presided over the so-called Council for the Management of Development Programs of the United Nations, the institution that gives economic aid to member countries, twice, in 1970 and during the current year.

Our people who are employed in the secretariats of the organization also make an important contribution to the United Nations' activities. Eugeniusz Wyzner has been the Under Secretary General of the United Nations. Finally, we can mention our daily activities, participation in the work of the institutions of the United Nations of our delegations represented by individuals from many ministries, institutions, etc.

[Question] Mr. Ambassador, how do you view the future role of the United Nations? Will esteem for the organization grow or decline?

[Answer] This is a difficult question, for predicting is among the most difficult tasks in politics. I would answer that objectively speaking the United Nations could increase its role for several reasons. First, the United Nations has become a nearly universal international organization. With few exceptions, all countries belong to the United Nations. At present there are 159 members. Those that do not belong participate as observers. A few nations are still fighting for their independence (Namibia, for example), but I am convinced that sooner or later these countries too will become members of the United Nations. Second, the United Nations has become an organization that covers nearly every area of international relations and cooperation, an irreplaceable instrument of so-called multilateral diplomacy, a very necessary forum for small and medium-sized countries, but also for the great powers.

Third, the United Nations is a unique organization that makes possible systematic meetings of the leading representatives of states, heads of state or of governments, foreign ministers or arranges special meetings. These meetings. These meetings make possible the resolution or at least discussion of the most critical or difficult problems of the contemporary world. I would like to emphasize that even the sides in a conflict that in other circumstances would never meet each other or for whom it would be necessary to construct complicated arbitration structures have an almost automatic opportunity--if they desire--for conducting talks at the United Nations.

I must emphasize, however, that the United Nations has limited influence on relations in the world. Generally, it is believed that the United Nations reflects these relations rather than shapes them.

If international relations tend to worsen, if the Cold War returns, tensions increase, armaments escalate, then the role of the United Nations will decline. The United Nations would in a sense die. Certainly, it will be able to limit the worsening of the situation somewhat, absorb some of the tension, but the United Nations will have no essential influence on the political weather in the face of those that poison the atmosphere, against world imperialism. If, however, the situation improves, if the period of detente, dialogue, and cooperation return, the role of the United Nations will increase quickly. Then the United Nations will be needed to create new structures for peaceful cooperation for the great powers and the regional groupings. Then the United Nations would make use of all its potential.

13021

CSO: 2600/22

POLAND

CIVIL DEFENSE READY FOR NUCLEAR ATTACK

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 24 Aug 85 p 2

[Quotation from interview with Col. Adam Kolasinski, chief of the Provincial Civil Defense Inspectorate in Biala Podlaska, by St. Jadczyk, published in SZTANDAR LUDU on 8 August]

[Text] [Question] How does our civil defense compare, for example, to Switzerland, where every citizen has in his house a uniform, weapons, protective equipment, and his own place in a bomb shelter, and where every townsman knows on which farm he will find shelter after evacuation from the city?

[Answer] Protection of the population of our country in the event of a nuclear conflict has been ensured. We are proceeding from the assumption that our main goal is to limit human and material losses, since, unfortunately, there will be losses, because with the universality and effectiveness of nuclear strikes, no state in the world is capable of completely protecting its citizens from the consequences of the strikes.

[Question] Let us say then in the end -- do we have bomb shelters in our country?

[Answer] Obviously we do. In Poland, we have shelters and refuges for the population, and furthermore -- in the event of a threat -- we will use suitable safety measures and adapt premises that serve nondefense purposes in peacetime.

9909

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POLAND

NEW CRIMINAL CODE NOT EXPECTED TO ALTER BEHAVIOR

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 24 Aug 85 p 2

[Quotation from interview with lawyer Jan Olszewski by Marta Miklaszewska, published in PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI on 4 August]

[Text] It is true that the areas infected by various forms of social pathology, and also criminality, among us long ago went beyond the limits of the so-called social margin. These are phenomena profoundly linked to the mechanism of the degenerative social processes that have been intensifying for decades. An effective struggle against them requires a whole set of economic, educational, and foreign policy methods, etc. Penal repression cannot replace them. These are truisms, and almost certainly known by the authors of the new criminal legislation. I consequently do not think that anyone will cherish illusions that by the middle of 1988 we will achieve a fundamental breakthrough in the war against crime. It appears that the purposes of the new legal regulations are more limited, and are primarily psychological in nature.

9909

CSO: 2600/1042

POLAND

SHARP CRITICISM OF UNDERGROUND BOOK 'THEY'

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 24 Aug 85 p 10

[Article by Kazimierz Kozniewski: "They and She"]

[Text] In the so-called second publishing circulation, a book by Teresa Toranska was published under the title "They." It consists of seven interviews that Toranska conducted with several former political activists who played a major role in the leadership of the party and the state during the years 1944-1956. There is an enormous -- 100-page-- interview with Jakub Berman, and shorter ones with Edward Ochab, Roman Werfel, Wiktor Kłosiewicz, Leon Chajn, and Julia Mincowa.

If one accepts the logical assumption that an underground publication should always serve some concrete political aims, then after reading "They" the question that arises is what this extensive tome, capacious in content and printed with type that is difficult to read, was published for, since for every thinking reader this book is to a considerably greater degree a dramatic forum, but a very broad and honest, very human one, although a subjective defense of their own conduct and their position by four (four interviews are the most important here) prominent activists of the KPP [Polish Communist Party], ZPP [Union of Polish Patriots], PPR [Polish Workers' Party], and PZPR, than a demonstration of the rather naive although also honest sentimental arguments, little supported by a knowledge of history, that are presented by Teresa Toranska.

The rumor of the book reached me before a copy of it did. I was convinced that cynicism and nihilism were unmasked in it, that Toranska had annihilated petty careerists, prostrating themselves before the tribunal of national history...

But I did not find anything like that in this book.

Even Stefan Staszewski, the only one in these conversations to declare himself a former communist, the only one who clearly states that he is now no longer a believer in God, an adherent of the Catholic Church, even he, even though he was suppressed at one time, thinks that in 1944 and later the Polish communists had to take power in this country into their own hands, and that

such a solution, the only possible one, was in the interest of the Polish people. Also, Leon Chajn, who seems to assess his past activity somewhat critically, does not show any eagerness for a fundamental reassessment of the position taken at the transition from war to peace.

On the other hand, the principal foursome of the interlocutors -- Berman, Ochab, Werfel, and Kiosiewicz -- with respect to the accusations and questions of Toranska, undertake an aggressive discussion with her. They are willing to acknowledge that during that period (and after all later as well) many mistakes were made in building socialism in Poland, and that many injustices were permitted, but the fundamental course of conduct was proper and correct, arising logically from Poland's geographical position, the history of the epoch, and the goals of the social revolution whose adherents and spokesmen they remain until this very day. They believe that in spite of all the unavoidable, subjective, and mistaken actions, even those cruelly wronging individual people, this revolution will bear fruit for the Polish people, and that on the overall historical scale it will be beneficial for the Poles. They use such political arguments that Toranska's remarks often sound ridiculous.

It is possible -- and this is my opinion as well -- that this naivete on Toranska's part is the deliberate provocative naivete of Kubus Fatalista. Ochab treated Toranska with good-natured indulgence: "Daughter, you don't understand anything!" Berman became irritated with her: "Don't ask stupid questions! Nonsense, useless humbug!" It is possible that the naivete of these questions is a cunning trick by a journalist who aims at eliciting as sharp as possible a reaction from those answering. Toranska -- I think -- began her quest for political activists with the intention of throwing accusations in their faces, seeing their reactions, and thus finding out "what it was really like."

More of a Stalemate than a Victory

Who emerged victorious from this confrontation? They or she? I am convinced that a complete stalemate resulted. No one convinced anyone here. The reader will also be left with the same convictions with which he began reading the book, since these are not conversations in which there is a mutual dialogue, aimed at reaching an understanding; these are conversations of confrontation for the sake of demonstration. Toranska's demonstrations are intellectually weaker -- as the reader can see. I therefore do not comprehend the political design that led the underground to decide to publish this book. Toranska -- it seems to me -- did not demolish her opponents. She offered them, as Kubus Fatalista did to his rationally thinking gentleman Diderot, a rostrum through which the reasons of the '44 generation of communist politicians were demonstrated.

These reasons sound convincing with respect to the years 1944-1948. The arguments pertaining to the events of 1948 are more open to discussion and even elicit opposition -- the speakers furthermore very sharply and unanimously attack Gomulka (in general, all of these interviews are anti-Gomulka), as in their opinion we could not break out of the camp of the

socialist states, and the extent of skillful defense against so-called Stalinism, which all four in any case consider a threat to the achievements of the revolution -- a threat, in their opinion, explained by social processes -- is already a matter for other additional ingenious activities.

In the conviction of many readers of this book, Toranska may be the sentimental victor in this duel, which is after all a political one. I think that she is not. In a certain place, where she speaks about alternative political solutions in 1945, Toranska interrupts the words of her interlocutor with the observation that having such alternatives, one should perhaps have chosen... truth! And in this place, the reader somewhat acquainted with general history will burst out laughing, since the drama of human history lies in the fact that there is no single moral, historical, or political truth, and sometimes even material truth cannot be established. History is the eternal clash of subjective, national, and class truths under given geographic conditions, in slowly changing international and social systems, sometimes -- but rather rarely -- suddenly changed by revolutions.

It appears to this young woman -- that is how she presents herself to us as the journalist conducting the interviews -- that the world should be governed by moral considerations. Perhaps it should! But the men with whom she speaks in this book (since the two women do not engage in any dialogue, even a make-believe one; Mincowa, a shrewd woman, is clearly making fun of her naive interlocutor) -- but the men, today already old people or even, as we read the book, no longer alive, were perfectly aware of the fact that morality or even ideology is not the most significant engine of history. The struggle for power, the class struggle, the political struggle -- they after all also have their moral considerations. The revolutionary realization of social justice may be a task with a higher moral load, a task that is morally more important even than the abuses committed in the struggle accompanying the revolution. The loads of morality have different weights! There is no single measure of morality. There is no immanent morality. Toranska's interlocutors are experienced people. During the years 1981-1984, when she spoke with them, they were even much wiser than they were in 1943 or 1944, for example. Then they were more ideological, and today they are already more experienced and they see much more accurately -- from a distance -- that in 1943 or 1944 or 1945 (although in certain concrete situations they were rather helpless) they nevertheless acted as the realizers of quite obvious ideological, political, and international forces. They are aware that they were the executors of the verdicts of history, not their enemies from the "Polish London" or the Warsaw AK [Home Army].

Teresa Toranska imagines (I repeat that this is possibly a rehearsed naivete) that the history of Poland at the end of the war could have proceeded differently if the generals of the Home Army and Mikolajczyk's ministers had not been obstructed -- she literally says obstructed -- by the group of Polish communists in Moscow and the members of the PPR in Warsaw. If it had not been for you -- Toranska points out so pathetically -- the Americans and the British would have offered Poland, saved from Hitlerism by a miracle, to the "Londoners."

Is Toranska unaware of the fundamental question (she clearly does not want to pose it to herself) of why the Anglo-Saxons agreed in Tehran and Yalta to such divisions of Europe and the world, and not different ones? Why did the allies offer no assistance -- virtually none, after all -- to the participants in the Warsaw uprising? Why was Churchill, in his February (1944) speech, so rude to his Polish allies? Why did Roosevelt refuse to support the British concept of opening a second front in the Balkans, that soft underbelly of Europe?

Toranska does not understand that in the overall arrangement of the relations between Poland and its neighbor to the East, there are matters much more fundamental than whether Stalin had a certain personality and not a different one. She does not remember, or does not want to know, that the agreement in Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam was also influenced by the fact that in 1709 Peter the Great won a battle near the Poltava; and that Pilsudski could, for example in 1933, delude himself that some historical processes belonged to the past, but 10 years later, after Stalingrad, neither Roosevelt nor Churchill had such illusions any more.

Historical Considerations But Also... Mistakes and Distortions

The interlocutors explain to Toranska that they were right to carry out a social revolution with the support of the first communist state in the world, since they were communists, just as Danton and Robespierre had the right to carry out a revolution, and then others spread it throughout Europe, since Napoleon was winning the wars. For every outbreak of social revolution, an outcry is raised in defense of established rights and privileges, in the defense of social legalism -- and every time, the people pass through this to daily order. One may weep over the fact that Bierut and Gomulka ruled just as "illegally" in Poland as the Jacobins and Girondists, Napoleon and his kings, ruled in Europe. One may weep over this, but nothing comes of that.

On the other hand, one should remember, regret, accuse, and speak aloud about the methods; one should investigate and assess the past of our revolution in the domain of its methods, methods that seem to concern Toranska less -- possibly because we are speaking of methods where there is an agreement on purposes. Her interlocutors speak less about methods -- perhaps they also do not want to recall this, since these same purposes can be achieved in various ways. Hasn't too much blood been spilled? Yes -- it is also necessary to ask such terrible questions. Haven't too many innocent people been arrested and imprisoned, whom it was not necessary to imprison? In these interviews, several names are mentioned, of people who were afterwards rehabilitated. Perhaps too many people were imprisoned, even ones whose names are not repeated. Average and ordinary people. Haven't the principles of justice been violated -- I am not talking about the letter of the law, but about the principles of justice. Haven't there been allies in our own or potential ranks, multiplying their own enemies? Has terror, that inevitable companion of every revolution, been only a necessity, or also an element? Did we control that element in order to limit the wrongs that later -- even after years -- create difficulties for any national peace, any understanding? Did Toranska's interlocutors beat their own breasts enough, or did they use the

breasts of others too readily? They also use the word "they" and sometimes overlook the methods too easily.

Ochab, Berman, Werfel, and Klosiewicz tell Toranska clearly and openly -- Ochab more dogmatically, Werfel anecdotically, and Berman dialectically -- we were right! History proves us right -- they say -- in spite of our mistakes and even the injustices that we committed against the members of the AK. Our obligation was to subject Poland to a revolutionary change and plant Poland firmly within the camp of the socialist states! They insist that on the scales of history, calculation of the social and national profits will outweigh even the calculation of personal injustices. History is not made with clean hands, no matter what the young woman has told us here.

A Question That Is Overlooked

The book "They" is introduced by a preface from "Jan Bujnowski." His skill with the pen indicates that this is a pseudonym. "Bujnowski" takes a position close to Toranska's -- obviously. But toward the end of his preface he also refuses to answer the most important question, which he moreover formulates himself. But without a clear answer to that question we cannot even discuss the history of Poland for the last few centuries. "Bujnowski" does not want to answer the question of what would have happened to Poland in 1944 if a group of communists had not formed several years earlier in Warsaw and Moscow, seeking to take upon themselves the responsibility for the postwar fate of Poland, in the situation of such a complete victory of the Soviet Union over the Hitlerist Germans? From the tone of the book, from the questions and exclamation points, one could conclude that at that time Poland's borders would have been on the Zbrucz, and a good Pole, Mikolajczyk, would have ruled in Warsaw. "Jan Bujnowski" does not confirm this, and in general avoids an answer to this question. He is wiser and knows the answer.

Ochab, Klosiewicz, Berman, and Werfel also know this answer. Berman asks Toranska: "Where could one put Poland? On the moon?" and answers, "Poland lies on the road between the Soviet Union and Western Europe, and its position is clear: either or. There are no middle colors, since Poland cannot hang in the air..."

He even says this brutally. It is possible that before his death, if Berman had been able to authorize this conversation before the end (as Toranska explains), he would have moderated this outcry ("he shouted!") with his last words. But this moving cry thus reaches the readers of the book "They."

But perhaps the publisher wanted his -- precisely his -- readers to understand -- in spite of Toranska -- the significance of this cry, the wisdom, elementary and somehow tautological, of this cry. Poland is not hanging in the air!

Obviously -- all four were communists. They considered themselves communists, although they wanted a different communism than Gomulka and Gierek. Also, they emphasize, a deomocratic one, but a different one. They do not want to

be nationalists. They consider themselves internationalists. They explain to Toranska that Lvov should be Ukrainian, and Wilno, Lithuanian.

Werfel goes furthest back into history, but he also does not go further than the date of the October Revolution. Although perhaps Teresa Toranska's interlocutors -- using historical and dialectical arguments -- should have stated that revolutions change ruling classes, but do not change the basic laws of geography and the fundamental courses of the history of individual peoples. Young, fresh, strong social classes taking -- by force! always by force! -- the helm of governments, become more powerful fulfillers of what we define as the national interest. History, beginning with Ivan and Peter, developed in such a way that by the end of World War II there were two great leading powers on the earth: the USSR and the United States. Churchill understood this; it was not realized by the "London Poles" (although Ksawera Pruszyński realized it). The Polish communists, as a result of their ideological position, understood this perhaps better than others. Toranska's interlocutors have a grievance against the Polish intelligentsia, because to the present day it has not been capable of consistently and completely understanding this. They are of the opinion that in this situation the Poles should concentrate all their energy, not upon chasing after shadows, but in the concrete international situation, upon trying to achieve for themselves all benefits of a social and state nature.

Toranska does not understand Ochab and the others. They do not understand Toranska. The readers -- I repeat -- have their own opinion.

Does It Fill the "Blank Spaces"?

Does this book fill the "blank spaces" in our knowledge of recent history?

In my opinion, this book does not fill any "blank spaces." A few new facts and ones with an anecdotal taste. What kind of revelations do Toranska's interlocutors offer us? That, as Staszewski states, in the autumn of 1956 the FSO [automobile factory] workers were armed? But that is precisely outright nonsense -- for which we have the testimony of the most authoritative individuals. That Stalin existed? That up until 1955 the Security Force grew higher than the party? That there were more severe and more moderate investigations? That revolutions are not made by angels, and that every arm -- even of a communist -- is bent toward itself and not away from itself? That the civil war in Poland was bloody? One may discuss this: very bloody or moderately bloody? But all of this, even before now, was thoroughly known by every historian, and every newspaper reader interested in modern history -- only if he was not lazy and was eager to consult historical books and letters, and was not satisfied with merely reading school textbooks. There are no, repeat no, historical revelations, that are really revealing. There are only some new anecdotes.

Someone said that state secrets were revealed. Which ones? There are no such revelations in this book. I am overlooking the fact that after 25 years any secret fact ceases to have reasons for keeping it secret. And I also call attention to the fact that in 1956, or in 1981, all of this was accurately

described in the periodical press. In 1982 our POLITYKA published extracts of extracts from two interviews by Toranska with Ochab and Klosiewicz (there was also a third, with Jerzy Morawski) under the joint title of "You Were There..." This was a title within the scope of historical issues, and not an alienating one like "They." These comrades really were there, however. Toranska wants to learn something new, something heretofore kept secret, from them. And no discoveries! More was said in Khrushchev's report, which has been known for nearly 30 years, than we find in Toranska's interviews.

On the other hand, if "homo politicus" is always some sort of mysterious blank space for the ordinary "homo economicus" -- then really such a blank space -- a psychological picture -- was somewhat colored here; an internal portrait of a man involved in political activity.

An apostle and the sacrifices of being an apostle. A man actively engaged in politics is exposed to certain stresses, including ones of a moral nature. Sometimes these are moral devastations, which are often the price that an individual may pay for having power, or for having the opportunity to realize his own ideas on a social scale. Berman reveals to Toranska that it was he, speaking with his wife once, who invented the term "callousness," which has had such a career in journalism. This was a description of a virus infection of people dealing professionally with politics -- and, one must also add -- with morality. Can it be that Berman himself, who today explains -- both to himself and Toranska -- various situations, with too much submissiveness to the circumstances and situations in which he perhaps should have acted in a more decisive manner -- could it be that Berman himself had already come down with this callousness?

Since human societies began to function, and today, and for all eternity -- amen -- to what extent will public, political, activity always be equally essential, to what extent does possessed power ennoble, and to what extent does it corrupt? In human and inter-human reality, these two opposite but equal psychological processes always occur. If the ennobling factor is essentially dominant, then someone almost holy appears to us. Are the most effective politicians really always holy, however? Jan Baszkiewicz gives Ludwig IX a rather good testimony, although "his officials used to have considerable difficulties with the pious king," and he oppressed his subjects with taxes. Gandhi was also holy, but the kind of prime minister he was does not even bear thinking about. On the other hand, if the corrupting factor is essentially dominant, then we have criminals and rogues: Hitler, Mussolini, Pol Pot. In general, however, there is some sort of internal balance in every homo politicus -- although after all no one can give a precise prescription, in percentages. And it is a good thing that he cannot.

It is necessary to examine people carefully, especially when they are politicians. History should keep a watchful eye on those who make it.

Six politicians (without counting Mincowa) were presented in interviews with Toranska. Six people involved in unusually difficult political activity agreed to speak with Toranska.

Why Did They Speak?

Why did they agree to this?

If Ochab or Klosiewicz, speaking with her in 1981, could have had illusions about the intentions of those interviews, then those who spoke with her in 1982, 1983, or 1984 could no longer have had any illusions. Mincowa called to her dog, "Dzinka, bark at the lady, since she's pretending to be a member of Solidarity." Toranska sharply attacked their activities and their ideals. Then why did they speak with her at such length?

Certainly because Teresa Toranska appeared to them to be a representative of the postwar generation with its uneasy questions. But -- in my opinion -- above all, for those former political activists a conversation with Toranska was an opportunity thanks to which they could -- Chajm and Berman for the last time in their lives -- present their ideological, political, and intellectual arguments. They could speak to history past the journalist -- like a defendant speaking past the prosecutor.

Unfortunately, our journalistic practice did not give these activities that kind of opportunity. Communists do not write diaries -- someone remarked once. Perhaps because communists, in an absolutely unusual and truly apostolic way, are governed by loyalty to their party and their ideology. This is besides also documented by Toranska's interlocutors -- Werfel, Berman, and Ochab. The everyday dilemma of people fighting for some great ideological cause. Communists do not write diaries, but they are prepared to defend their reasons from the defendants' bench. Such a bench was given to them by prosecutor Teresa Toranska, and they made use of it. They moreover felt that the formulation of these reasons, on the scale of history, was more important for them and for their cause than the immediate -- even troublesome -- benefit that Teresa Toranska or her editors would get from it.

Six portraits of activists, each of whom paid a definite price for engaging in politics. Not the highest price, but nevertheless a high one. Apostasy, like Staszewski, relegation from the party, like Berman and Werfel, or isolation within the party, like the rest.

How did these politics deform them?

"Older politicians tell striking stories about those who have been corrupted by possessing power. Persecution manias are also a deformation of politicians. We know from both ancient and modern history of great victors, who saw conspirators in everyone around them, who did not spare those closest to them, themselves and their families. This is a human and Shakespearean matter at the same time: power is more important than the closest man. And thus people in high places turned out to be small people. They did not even want to protect a friend."

The questions multiply: where should a politician stop and in what situation? When he should say no! What should he never do to himself? When mistakes and neglect become a crime, and when the crime of a Caesar becomes something even

worse because it is a mistake. Political morality must be flexible, but this flexibility must have limits. What kind? Is there any formula?

Berman and the others knew quite well that Gomulka, Spychalski, and Komar were not guilty. Berman tried to protect one or another against the worst, but he did not make an either/or issue of this. He justifies himself in different ways, sometimes naively, sometimes cynically, but we, who know the issues of our time, know that nevertheless certain processes did not take place in Poland, that due to this 1956 was easier in our country, and that the balance was more positive than it was elsewhere. So...

Politics is not a pleasant walk on a summer afternoon in green Lazienki, but it is sometimes a dance among swords, sometimes among flames, and sometimes -- as once in an office in the Kremlin -- old Molotov with a Berman younger than him... In politics there are no moral schemes established once and for all -- there are various systems, various arrangements, and various necessities. Sometimes it is necessary to choose not between good and bad, but between better and worse, and sometimes it is even necessary to choose only the lesser evil.

There is no fear -- no moral hell will frighten people away from engaging in politics. But politicians have to know that they can and should be asked not only about their effectiveness, but also about their morality. They have to be aware of the danger of the ethical deformations that threaten them. Themselves. The deeper their awareness of responsibility -- general responsibility -- to themselves, to the tribunal of the state, or even to the tribunal of opinion, then the greater the chance -- but only a chance -- that someone sometime will refrain from dotting the "I"; someone else will not make some kind of irrecoverable mistake, and then some third person might not lose his life.

Teresa Toranska, from a defendants' bench, built for a few former activists a podium for their political and ideological defense. In this defense, the more perceptive reader saw the Shakespearean drama of every politician always; a drama of questions about goals and a drama of questions about moral limits.

It is bad that through our own renunciation we give others an opportunity to stage plays of this sort for us. If we staged them, they would become an element in positive state education, but with our enemies staging them, they can contribute to the destruction of the state.

9909

CSO: 2600/1042

POLAND

MINISTRY'S CULTURAL PROGRAM REJECTED BY NATIONAL CULTURAL COUNCIL

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Sep 85 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Program for Developing Culture To Be Corrected"]

[Text] On the 9th of this month the Program for Developing Culture was received critically, even though this is the second version developed by the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts. The previous one was rejected by the Committee for Education and Dissemination of Culture of the NRK [National Council for Culture] for being a plan of action for the Ministry rather than a program for the whole of the country's cultural life. Similar reservations were voiced this time, but during the discussion the members of the National Council for Culture pointed out problems that relate to cultural policy in general.

The new version of the program was criticized for the generality of its statements, for lacking a longterm view, for staying too close to present reality of the crisis, which should not paralyze human initiative. Culture is the field that must define social consciousness and should be a part of the general state plan. This requires a plan, however, that sees beyond present reality but simultaneously is not a collection of dreams.

The speakers touched upon many essential issues hampering the rebuilding and development of cultural life in Poland, delaying the cultural education of society. Reference was made to the improper education of teachers of art appreciation and instructors for the amateur movement. Criticism was directed at the organization and quality level of mass entertainment. Numerous complaints were addressed to television, which could be an effective educational tool, but which all too frequently propagates models of little value. Mention was made of the disturbing decline of the patronage of factories and the unfavorable influence of the reforms on the resources for financing cultural activities in enterprises, where the managers generally determine the success of cultural undertakings.

The problem of the declining position of the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts in negotiations with other ministries appeared almost on the margins of this discussion. We shall endeavor to return to this issue.

The Committee for Education and Dissemination of Culture of the NRK decided to forward the program discussed to the Presidium of the NRK together with the conclusions, with the reservation that this version is not satisfactory. Since a report on the state of culture is currently being prepared, it was decided that it would be most appropriate to draw upon it in the editing of a longterm program for the development of culture up to 1990 or even up to 1995.

13021

CSO: 2600/22

YOUNG INTELLIGENTSIA'S NEEDS, HIGHER EDUCATION BILL DISCUSSED

Young Intelligentsia's Needs Debated

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 21 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Izabela Pieczara: "Who is an Intellectual?"]

[Text] There was a time in our postwar history when education created a real opportunity for social advancement. Slogan: Poland is a country of people learning, and pressure to attend schools are now a thing of the past. Why is it once again more profitable 'to have' rather than 'to be'?

Scholars emphasize that a nation without culture is not a nation but only a collection of people. But culture is created by the intelligentsia, who are not always admired. More and more this group is ceasing to be the elite social group; it is becoming a free group of professionals earning minimal salaries which is constantly seeking opportunities to supplement their basic earnings. Opportunities for advancement for young intellectuals are nil. A 30-year-old docent is still shocking. Why is this happening?

The following representatives of the young intelligentsia were invited to discuss this subject at an editorial discussion: Jerzy Jaskiernia, graduate of the AGH [Academy of Mining and Metallurgy] and vice chairman of the ZSMP [Polish Union of Socialist Youth] ZK [expansion unknown]; Krzysztof Karski, AGH research worker; Jan Kolodziej, AR [Academy of Agriculture] research worker; Wlodzimierz Lencewicz, PK [Krakow Polytechnic] student; and Zbigniew Lichwa, Institute of Zootechnology research worker. Izabela Pieczara represented the editorial staff.

[Izabela Pieczara] Does higher education make one an intellectual?

[Jerzy Jaskiernia] I do not believe so. I am from the countryside, from a peasant family, and from my own observations I can say that a wise peasant is superior to a person with a diploma. He who is knowledgeable can provide good counsel and help and is greatly respected in the countryside. Thus studies mean nothing if peasant wisdom is lacking. To me, an intellectual is one who is respected above all, and not one who has a diploma from a higher school.

[Zbigniew Lichwa] I agree. Of course there are people in the rural areas who write poetry, compose songs and write chronicles and yet have no more than 7 years of primary schooling. One can discuss anything with them. But one often meets students with whom no discussions can be held. I believe studies do not make an intellectual, but intelligence and life experiences do.

[Izabela Pieczara] It appear to me that we are confusing two concepts: practical intelligence and specific knowledge. Of course I agree with my colleagues that in the rural areas it is not necessary to be a higher school graduate to be respected and recognized, but this has nothing in common with the concept of intelligentsia. I believe that an intellectual is a person who has a legitimate diploma from a higher school.

[Krzysztof Karski] I concur. There are certain barriers that a person cannot overcome without higher studies despite his sincerest desires. It would be an exaggeration to say that a person with a primary school education is an intellectual because, for example, he creates rhymes.

[Jan Kolodziej] But what about those people who take a step down and take on any kind of work to supplement their insufficient salaries? Should we stop calling them intellectuals because they hid their diplomas in the closet and are working as physical laborers, and unqualified ones at that? After all, that is often the way it is.

[Izabela Pieczara] Why should a young engineer have to take a shovel immediately to supplement his salary? I think Colleague Jan Kolodziej is talking somewhat for more growth. But we should determine what a young intellectual must do to make use of his intellectual potential in his own field of studies at work in accordance with his education to create various opportunities to reach his goals.

[Krzysztof Karski] Izabela Pieczara is suggesting that everything is in order. That is not true. Anyone attempting to advance beyond docent in a higher school has a difficult time. The young must wait, work for the fame of others or, unfortunately, must take shovel in hand.

[Izabela Pieczara] I agree with Colleague Krzysztof Karski in only one respect, namely, young researchers are not permitted to earn doctorates or to qualify for assistant professorships too quickly. That is true. This is confirmed, among other things, by the statistics about the number of young researchers who, unfortunately, have no opportunities for growth. However, it is difficult to agree with the statement that a young intellectual must take to the shovel immediately to earn more money, which in our discussion is beginning to play an important role as the last anchorage. Why the shovel. Why not work in the scientific centers for additional pay or do some kind of research work? After all a laborer does not earn much.

[Jan Kolodziej] But a laborer does not earn 9-12,000 zlotys, which is the average salary for young researchers. I believe that the intelligentsia is being treated unfairly because it is not being paid properly for its work.

[Izabela Pieczara] Does this mean that a person finishing higher studies should earn good money immediately. It would be unjust for a recent higher school graduate to earn as much as a worker with several years experience.

[Jan Kolodziej] I do not agree with you. It is embarrassing for an assistant to earn the same pay as a cleaning woman even if this researcher has many years or few months of experience. Of course, I am not demanding at all that assistants earn the same pay as miners or steel workers, but their pay should be directly proportional to studies completed and work accomplished. In Poland, it is inversely proportional.

[Jerzy Jaskiernia] I agree. We constantly forget that it is much more difficult for a young intellectual to get a start in life than it is for a trade school graduate.

[Wlodzimierz Lencewicz] I have listened carefully to all that has been said by my colleagues, and I must say that I do not agree in many cases with what they have to say. Perhaps it is because I am still a student, and I have a somewhat different view of the subjects under discussion. It is my experience that the material situation and possibility for earning additional pay for young intellectuals is not that bad. I do not want to point a finger, but it is difficult to find a parking space in front of student dormitories, and one can hear the latest hits on expensive foreign records, and so forth and so on.

[Zbigniew Lichwa] But if students have these so-called luxury material goods it is only because of the self-denials of their parents and their hard work and not the result of their own earnings. Thus, these "gifts" should not even be discussed.

[Izabela Pieczara] Why not? Are not they the ones who actually speak of the younger generation as a consuming generation?

[Krzysztof Karski] And who do you thing raised us? Is it not they who are now criticizing us today? Is it not so? I believe they will continue to have that opinion as long as proper work opportunities are not available for young intellectuals. Do you, Izabela Pieczara, believe that demanding a place to live or an automobile is consumption?

[Izabela Pieczara] Demanding? Perhaps we should say working for them, right?

[Krzysztof Karski] No! Not working, such opportunity does not exist. All over the world the criterion for employment is fitness for a particular profession. A higher school graduate is asked what he has to propose the moment he is accepted into a firm. In Poland there is no system for rewarding those who have a diploma with straight "A's". In Poland those who have finished their studies with a "C" average have the same opportunity to find a good job as those who have an "A" average. Connections here and there are the only things that matter.

[Izabela Pieczara] Have you observed that even the best connections are more important than work done, that is, no work is done at all and rewards continue because of connections?

[Krzysztof Karski] Yes I have.

[Jerzy Jaskiernia] I believe that colleague Krzysztof Karski is exaggerating somewhat. Of course, connections and the so-called systems play an important role in every community, including the intelligentsia community, but only to a certain extent. I cannot imagine that distinguished professor will continually write papers or conduct experiments for a young assistant. Sooner or later one can stumble on this.

[Jan Kolodziej] Colleague Jerzy Jaskiernia is right. However, I believe Krzysztof Karski is also right in some ways. The young intelligentsia is not motivated to do good work because no one values its diplomas and that which it truly accomplishes.

[Izabela Pieczara] Since you are all complaining so, what are your solutions to this unfavorable situation in which, in accordance to your opinions, Poland's intelligentsia finds itself?

[Krzysztof Karski] How many times have we made proposals and nothing has come of them? Does anyone care about the intelligentsia? At any time? You all probably agree with me that few have any stood up for the intelligentsia?

[Izabela Pieczara] Of course, you are right. But if you are going to continue to repeat the history of errors we will accomplish nothing. You made a number of controversial statements during the course of the discussion, and now you are giving up?

[Krzysztof Karski] No, I am not giving up. I believe that I already gave my answer to that question during the discussion. Briefly I repeat: proper work opportunities must be created for the young intelligentsia.

[Jan Kolodziej] That means opportunities in the full sense of the word, financial as well as social. So long as a young researcher receives little more than 100 zlotys per hour for lecturing and lives in a small hotel room for assistants or in some other corner then there can be no talk about plans to improve the situation of Poland's intelligentsia.

[Izabela Pieczara] I believe that assuring these basic needs will be the first step for a change to a better status for the young intelligentsia.

Higher Education Bill Summarized

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Aug 85 p 6

[Article by Kazimierz Malecki: "Laws and Decrees: The Changes in Higher Education"]

[Text] What are the real changes being introduced in the 25 July amendment to the higher education law? To begin with, it should be emphasized, in behalf of the legislators, that these changes are not aimed at limiting self-government in the higher schools. Instead, the aim is to stop the negative phenomena that have been appearing in higher education for some time now. Thus, the law

retains the idea of self-government and introduces, in needed areas, only specific forms of state actions vis-a-vis school activities that will assure proper functioning of these schools.

Changes in Rules of Operation

The institution of higher school social councils is in fact meant to serve this goal. The social councils will be appointed by the proper local provincial people's councils after hearing the opinions of the rectors and senates. Social council members will be selected from among political, social, economic and cultural activists and science workers. The task of the social councils is to assure better ties between the higher schools and the public, economy and culture of the given region. In particular, they should encourage these schools to use their potential to satisfy the social, economic and cultural needs of the given region and to aid the regions in their activities. The Council of State regulates the detailed scope of activities and operating procedures of the councils.

The authority of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education has been expanded in the areas of coordinating, supervising and controlling its subordinate schools. Among other things, this authority includes ratifying statutes passed by the higher schools; approving doctoral studies; and the right to reject a recommendation to the premier of a person selected for the Main Council for Science and Higher Education in order to appoint this person to a social or other lesser council. The authority will also be vested in other ministries supervising schools subordinate to them.

At the request of the proper minister, the higher school organ or the collegial body operating within the higher school is held accountable for all matters concerning school activities and for fully implementing the control motions stipulated by the proper minister and legally authorized control organ.

The rights of the Main Council for Science and Higher Education were modified in some areas. Existing rights are maintained. But in such areas as ratifying school statutes, determining the directions and rules for organizing studies, and establishing future plans and periodical plans for expanding higher education, the Council will have opinion-giver rights rather than proclamation rights.

An important new item is the reactivation of doctoral studies that were canceled by the 1982 law. However, these studies can be conducted only by organizational units of schools authorized to confer assistant-professorship doctorate degrees. The law also permits the creation of higher school branches and consultation offices (branches eliminated in 1982) and to conduct open university type studies. These latter must be approved by the proper minister supervising the given school.

Changes in Organization and Administration

Changes in school organization and administration especially concern election rules and procedures for higher school organs and the scope of their rights.

The Senate. The number of participating professors and docents is increased. They must compose at least 70 percent of the membership versus the previous 51 to 66 percent. This same rule applies to department councils. However, this general rule does not have to be enforced if the number of professors and docents employed in a given school is such that a 70 percent participation is not possible. In this case, senate membership will be specified by the school's statute.

The existing rules and procedures for electing a rector are modified only to a certain extent. The current system will remain in force; that is, the senate will select a rector from among candidates nominated by it who are approved by the minister controlling the higher school. The same rules apply to the election of a dean except that the department council selects the candidates and that the rector-elect can file an objection with the approval of the proper minister. To date, as is known, an objection was filed with the minister with the concurrence of the Presidium of the Main Council and the rector-elect.

The position of the rector in managing a school and of the dean in managing a department has been strengthened. This is brought about mainly by expanding their authority in controlling the activities of a department or school organizational unit, in concluding agreements with other schools, and in establishing a school's material and financial plan.

Changes in the Organization of Studies

It will be possible to repeat a school year or semester only once during studies. This rule does not apply in case of long-term illness or other very serious reasons.

If a student commits a very socially harmful offense and proceedings have been instituted against him for disturbing public order, the dean (or the rector if the dean is inactive) suspends the student's rights for a given time. However, if the student committed the above mentioned offense and was sentenced for disturbing public order in a criminal proceeding or misdemeanor hearing, the rector (or the proper minister in case the rector is inactive) can remove the student from the student list. But this can occur only after hearing the opinion of the disciplinary spokesman and in accordance with the type of offense and degree of student guilt. Decisions regarding a student from the student list can be appealed to the Chief Administrative Court.

The rules for the creation and functioning of organs of student self-government were modified. These rules and the general regulations for self-government will be established by the minister of science and higher education. Heretofore regulations for student self-government became invalid when the new law became effective, that is, on 12 September 1985. The term of

student self-government also ends on this day. It was resolved that self-government organs should be opinion-giving organs only, specifically in all areas concerned with education, upbringing, material aid, awards for education results and the division of funds allocated for student purposes.

The rules concerning the activities and registration of student organizations and associations are changed. National organizations and associations will operate in accordance with the rules and procedures designated in the regulations of the law on associations. This necessitates the reregistration of organizations and associations (heretofore they were registered by the minister of science and higher education in accordance with the regulations of the 1982 law). An organization or association can be disbanded if its activities are illegal or contrary to important public interests.

Scientific, artistic and sport circles, not being statutory organs of national student and youth organizations, are treated differently. They can become active after the rector agrees to their creation. The rector is the registration organ for these circles and executes the registration.

Changes in Labor Relations

The changes also concern meetings and protests organized on school grounds. Beginning 12 September 1985, they will be subject to the regulations of the law on meetings.

Concerning higher school employees, the amendment requires full acceptance of the constitutional principles of the political system of the Polish People's Republic, acting in accordance with these principles, and swearing allegiance to these principles upon accepting initial employment as an academic instructor.

The employment period for assistants and lecturers is modified. For example, a senior assistant is appointed for 3 years with the possibility of a one-time subsequent 3-year renewal. A lecturer can also be appointed for 3 years but with the possibility of two subsequent 3-year renewals. It should be noted that this is a return to the obligatory rules of the 1958 law on higher education. However, total employment period as assistant, senior assistant or lecturer does not change relative to present requirements. Also, the rights in this area obtained under the rules of existing regulations remain unchanged.

The rules for disciplinary procedures regarding academic instructors were revised. Among other things, the rule was implemented that disciplinary proceedings are initiated the moment the disciplinary spokesman files a motion on punishment, and the rector is authorized to suspend a school employee from his job while disciplinary or clarification proceedings are taking place. An interested party can appeal a decision in these matters.

Finally, the changes concerning establishing the principle for increases in teaching employee compensations should be noted. The principle was accepted that average compensation will increase annually at a rate not lower than the planned increase in compensations for production workers in the socialized economy.

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The above, though incomplete, discussion of the law is closely related to the law on the function of the minister of science and higher education that was passed at the same session of the Sejm. Earlier, on 3 December 1984, the Sejm passed the law on creating the Council of Ministers Committee on Science and Technical Progress and the Office for Scientific and Technical Progress and Implementations. This law also amends the law of 29 March 1972 on the creation of the office of minister of science, higher education and technology. In general, it can be said that as a result of passing the 3 December 1984 law, a basic change in the management of this state administrative department has taken place. The minister of science and higher education was charged only with matters in the area of developing science, training and educating scientific cadres, and educating and upbringing students to prepare them to participate in the development of a socialist economy and national culture. The scope of activity of this minister heretofore was regulated very little in the mentioned 1972 law, which required basic changes regarding detailed legal regulation of the jurisdiction of the Committee for Science and Technical Progress and the Office for Scientific and Technical Progress and Implementations. Thus, the new law on the function of this minister arose.

11899
CSO:2600/1059

POLAND

READERS' CRITICISM TO EDITORS OF STUDENT WEEKLY

'Patriotic-Defensive' Education Questioned

Warsaw ITD in Polish No 34, 25 Aug 85 p 2

[Letter from Elzbieta Isakiewicz]

[Text] GLOS WYBRZEZA reports that the school superintendent's office has organized camps for defensive training in the region of Gdansk Province. "Their purpose," the newspaper says, "is to train pupils to perform the role of assistants to the teachers of that subject in conducting practical activities. The training part is supplemented with a rich recreational-leisure program, within which it will be possible, among other things, to become qualified as sailors and frogmen. In addition to this, courses for a cycling card, a mandatory study of swimming, campfires, and sailing and canoeing races are planned.

And all of this would be normal except that the whole set of the above-mentioned activities is being called "patriotic-defensive education," which is underlined by the special challenge banner entrusted to the school that is outstanding in this field.

That intrigued me a great deal.

That is because -- how does one measure the patriotic-defensive level? By the number of shots fired at a target, quickness in putting on a gas mask, or participation in a race? What if someone is tops at shooting but an oppositionist at heart? What if someone is the last weakling, but shows a leaning toward the most proper ideas possible? What if someone loves his fatherland but not his life, and does not intend to go into a shelter?

These and other doubts thrust themselves to my mouth. I have hopes, however, that the representatives of the Gdansk school superintendent's office will dispel them quickly and send explanations regarding this issue.

Media Optimism Satirized

Warsaw ITD in Polish No 34, 25 Aug 85 p 2

[Letter from Maciej Pawlicki: "Young Journalist's Handbook"]

[Text] Let us draw up a news service. Domestic.

First of all the most important things. Farmers in Legnicki have begun threshing rape. Good news? Good. Further. Steelworkers in Stalowa Wola have overfulfilled the plan. Good news. Perhaps some more? On a free Saturday miners worked like demons. Very good news. What else would there be? Perhaps something about the health service. In this and that Dolny, the first health center in ?POWIEKA will be opened in only two years. Is that enough? No? Too little? By all means, there may be more. Now perhaps something about culture. Renata Daniel has returned from a triumphant tour of East Germany. The Artistic Group of the Polish Army was enthusiastically received in Vietnam. Soon, in the publishing market, a reissue of the Complete Works of Stanislaw Ryszard Dobrowolski will appear. Nothing but good news.

Filled with optimism, we nevertheless keep away from the propaganda of success. Now the criticism. Sharp and uncompromising. A brief and shocking report that there has been a shortage of fresh bread in Jastarnia. And one more. Shocking waste in the construction of a bus stop. A rabbit speaking sharply about lettuce. And more about a closed shop and stale milk. Irritated statements by citizens. Sharply and openly. And chasing after speculators some more. At greater length about our affairs. What bothers whom. With heartfelt concern, without wrapping in cotton. That is how it should be. So that the citizens trust journalists and have confidence in them.

World news service in two weeks.

9909

CSO: 2600/1042

POLAND

READER BLASTS, PRAYS FOR EDITORS OF MARXIST PERIODICAL

Warsaw MYSL MARKSISTOWSKA in Polish No 4, Jul-Aug 85, p 160

[Letter to the Editor, dated Kielce 23 April 1985]

[Text] I am not giving a salutation to my letter, for how on earth am I to address the editors of such a publication -- certainly not "Dear Sirs." I do not detest you, although I am aware of the terrible damages and devastation which you are capable of causing in the minds and hearts of our youth. Has there been too little of this Golgotha? You again wish to poison the souls of new generations, just as you have corrupted those masses of girls and boys from Polish cities and villages who once followed you rather than build the kingdom of God. "By their fruits you shall know them" says the Holy Scripture. The devil's seed produces rotten fruit. You are that devil's seed, you who consciously, or simply as dim-witted instruments, allow yourselves to be yoked to Satan's wagon. But this time it will not work for you. The nation sees and knows in Whom its hope lies. Send your editors to Jasna Gora [site of the "Black Madonna of Czestochowa revered by Poles] -- maybe there they will finally understand something.

I will pray for you, not that God will destroy you, but that He will enlighten you, that He will awaken in you pangs of conscience. When you come to know the magnitude of evil, how your "marxist thought" sacrifices human souls, then you will fall to your knees for the rest of your life to atone for the commission of these grave, mortal sins. Pangs of conscience will kill you. Despair will not allow you to sleep, to eat, or even to work. As you sow, so shall you reap. You will moulder like the viper that stings its own tail. May God forgive you.

I am not signing my full name to this letter because I know your deceit. I consider it my moral obligation, however, to warn you, to induce you to at least reflect upon yourselves and that which you do.

[Signed] Katarzyna B. from Kielce

From the Editors:
We are reflecting.

/12913
CSO: 2600/61

POLAND

COMMON INTERESTS SHOULD BE PURSUED OVER PERSONNEL TO EASE CRISIS

Warsaw FAKTY I KOMENTARZE in Polish No 33, 18 Aug 85 p 3

[Excerpts from an interview with prof. Zbigniew Gertych, Vice-Marshall of the Sejm]

[Text] The Agency Interpress has published an interview with professor Zbigniew Gertych, Vice-Marshall of the Sejm of the PRL. Below are some of Z. Gertych's comments:

"The Ten Commandments are 3,500 years old. A horse with this pedigree is respected everywhere. The right to something, rights must become a habit. We must remember that the education of people, the development of the desired social attitudes in them cannot be an independent reform of their consciousness, but it must be based on the transformation of the economic conditions, the social conditions, etc., mentioned above. People's attitudes are most fully and effectively shaped by participating in these processes. This is a question of social practices! (...)

A citizen is inclined rather to evaluate effects directly, he does not take into account the concomitant conditions of particular solutions and their consequences. Reflections on how many of society's desires and expectations can be met is frequently absent. We have always spoken of the Fatherland, the nation. But these are synonyms for such concepts as the state. If we learn to think and act in categories of strengthening the state, we will be better able to exploit all the opportunities in the program of renewal to improve our people's lives.

We must also awaken people's interest in the communal, in what has significance for everyone. How many opportunities for improvement, counteracting various shortfalls, pains of the present day lie in this area. Perhaps they appear insignificant, unimportant, but for those concerned they are critical issues. (...)

Triumphant exit from the crisis, overcoming all of the difficulties will occur at the bottom. In the places of work, in the shops, at the production line, in the research institutes, behind the desk. We must finally understand that only honest, good work can provide the proper solutions. Paying for any quality and not for the concrete results of work will always lead to a

lowering of the quality of life. To economic anarchy. The rules of the economic game are strict. That is why a change in mentality--a return to esteem for work (our nation still has an ethos of heroism rather than one of good, honest work), conscientious performance of ones obligations--is a prescription for a better life."

13021

CSO: 2600/22

POLAND

EFFICIENCY SHOULD DETERMINE PAY, SURVEY SHOWS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 24 Aug 85 p 2

[Quotations from sociologist Lena Kolarska in PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY, 11 August]

[Text] Many studies show that Poles want differences in wages, but only small ones. A conclusion of moderate egalitarianism can be drawn on this basis. I think that the lack of consent for larger wage and income ranges is a result of causes other than egalitarianism. In asking what wage differentiation you would agree to, we are assuming that this differentiation would take place within the framework of the existing system of emoluments, the criteria in effect for distribution, and the rules governing economic life. But the latter, as we have recalled, arouse major doubts and reservations. The system for the functioning of the economy is ineffective, disorder and poor organization of labor prevail in enterprises, their economic results are poor, and therefore why should a director earn several times as much as a worker, even if he has a responsible job -- a respondent thinks. (...)

Poles' attitudes and views regarding the issues related to socioeconomic differentiation are subject to change. There is increasing support for differentiation in wages, and declining support for the principle of limiting the earnings of those earning the most. (...) In 1984 almost 30 percent of the respondents favored limiting earnings for those earning the most, while in 1980 more than 70 percent favored such a limitation.

9909

CSO: 2600/1042

POLAND

BRIEFS

'AVERAGE' WORK, WASTE TIME GIVEN--The average Pole, according to GUS [Central Office of Statistics], works an average of 7 hours and 12 minutes, spends an hour and 12 minutes traveling to work, spends over an hour shopping, and spends over 3 hours on household chores, with housewives spending 6. Four and a half hours of free time remain, including 2 hours and 15 minutes in front of the television, along with an average of 8 hours sleeping. [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 24 Aug 85 p 2] 9909

TEACHERS' PAY SCALE--Beginning on 1 September, there will be an increase in salaries in education, which, in accordance with the entry on the Teacher's Card, will make teachers' pay equivalent to the average pay of engineering and technical personnel. Thus, for example, a graduate of a teachers' school will receive 8,700 zlotys; a teacher with 16-17 years of service will receive 10,750 zlotys; and one with 30 years of service, 12.5 thousand zlotys. There will be an increase in functional bonuses, for example for school directors, from 2 to 7 thousand zlotys. Last year the average teacher's pay was 16,796 zlotys, and with bonuses, 17,753. [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 24 Aug 85 p 2] 9909

NON-REGISTERED TV, RADIO FINES--There will now be fines for televisions, from 300 zlotys to 5,000 zlotys, and to 2,000 zlotys for non-registered radios. There will also be more inspectors checking registration records in apartments. [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 24 Aug 85 p 2] 9909

IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION OF CULTURE HAS NOT WORKED--[Quotation from Michal Misiorny, published in ARGUMENTY on 18 August 1985] The party's cultural policy also cannot lead to the well-known principle of "launching our comrades and our topics." We know this practice from the past, and it did a great deal of irreparable damage. In the first place, it confirmed the notion of many creators and activists that the protection and promotion of their creativity (and persons) is the obligation of the party, regardless of the value of that creativity. And in the second place, in the shadow of that policy cadres of activists, publishers, editors, and journalists were formed, who still consider this "self-help" interpretation to be binding. Meanwhile, our goal should be not be assisting comrades in view of their party membership cards, but rather the struggle for high quality and the promotion of works that deserve promotion. The ideological and political enemy states that socialism does not favor the emergence of outstanding works; our task will be to show that this is an unjustified assessment. [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 24 Aug 85 p 2] 9909

NEW CRIMINAL CODE MAY NOT ALTER BEHAVIOR--[Quotation from interview with lawyer Jan Olszewski by Marta Miklaszewska, published in PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI on 4 August] It is true that the areas infected by various forms of social pathology, and also criminality, among us long ago went beyond the limits of the so-called social margin. These are phenomena profoundly linked to the mechanism of the degenerative social processes that have been intensifying for decades. An effective struggle against them requires a whole set of economic, educational, and foreign policy methods, etc. Penal repression cannot replace them. These are truisms, and almost certainly known by the authors of the new criminal legislation. I consequently do not think that anyone will cherish illusions that by the middle of 1988 we will achieve a fundamental breakthrough in the war against crime. It appears that the purposes of the new legal regulations are more limited, and are primarily psychological in nature. [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 24 Aug 85 p 2] 9909

ORTHODOX CHURCH FOUNDATION ESTABLISHED--On 24 September, Adam Lopatka, Minister, Office of Religious Affairs, received Prof Leonid Pimonow of France, world-renown specialist in acoustics, co-inventor of the first Polish equipment for sound films during the between-the-wars period. Professor Pimonow established a foundation in the name of the Pimonov family to give financial assistance to the eastern Orthodox Church, which has no ecclesiastical hierarchy in the Polish People's Republic. The foundation's statute provides funds to save antique Orthodox places of worship and cemeteries. Minister Lopatka commended Professor Pimonov and gave him a charter confirming the establishment of the foundation. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Sep 85 p 2] 9295

DIOCESAN GIFT TO HOSPITAL--Construction of a provincial hospital in Gorzow Wielkopolski is drawing to a close. The first facility, a clinic, is already in operation and by the end of the year the builders from the Gorzow industrial group will complete and turn over to the health service the main patient-bed building. It will be ready to receive its first patients in the middle of next year. The large amount of modern equipment which will be installed in the new hospital includes an ultrasound machine for intrauterine examination of pregnant women. The machine was given to the hospital on 24 September by Bishop (Dr) Wilhelm Pluta, bishop of the Gorzow diocese. This is the second of this type of equipment given by the Gorzow diocese to the health services. The first ultrasound machine is being used in the city hospital. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 25 Sep 85 p 2] 9295

WARSAW DAILY REPORTS TOKARCZUK INTERVIEW--The Warsaw correspondent of the French newspaper LE FIGARO, Bernard Marguerite, recently interviewed the Przemysl bishop, Ignacy Tokarczuk, for its readers. Bishop Tokarczuk did not conceal his controversial views on state-church relations in Poland, the behavior of the authorities, and the situation in our country. Still he appeared to be against a stiffening of relations between the church and the state. "I do not see such a stiffening at present," Bishop Tokarczuk said. He said next that he himself will not vote in the elections to the Sejm, but he added, as the French journalist noted, that "certainly it would not be good if all of the bishops did the same." [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Sep 85 p 4] 9295

TABOO TOPIC BROACHED--The weekly SKRZYDLATA POLSKA (nr. 29/1985) published an address by Colonel Jozef Jungrow, delivered in 1948 at the Scientific Council of the Ministry of National Defense. The article was printed with the editorial title "Views of a Polish Aviation Theoretician." A profile of the author was given, and the short biography -- which listed the positions held by him -- was concluded with this terse sentence: "He died tragically on 7 August 1952 in Warsaw." The death of Colonel Jungrow was most certainly a tragedy, but the employed euphemism "he died tragically" does not render the proper dimensions to his death. One can associate this phrase with an accident, a catastrophe, or even with suicide. Why leave the field open for the imaginations of un-oriented readers? Would it not be better to write the following: "He was accused and executed on the basis of groundless and false charges. He was rehabilitated posthumously in 1956." [Text] [Warsaw POLITKA in Polish 17 Aug 85 p 15]

HEADLINE ERROR INITIATES COMMENTARY--On the first page of the 6 August 1985 edition of RZECZPOSPOLITA, an enlarged headline reads, "The National Electoral Committee." Throughout the entire course of the election regulations to the Sejm, there is no mention of such a body of persons, there being rather the National Electoral Convention, and at least the editors of a government daily should know about this. Let us comply with the language of the regulations, because otherwise everything will become confused for us, as well as for the voters. Evidently there is something to the saying that democracy has to be learned. [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 17 Aug 85 p 15]

/12913
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YUGOSLAVIA

DJURETIC BOOK CONTESTS OFFICIAL VIEW OF WORLD WAR II

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 17 Sep 85 pp 18-20

[Article by Zeljko Kruselj: "Surprising and Shocking Conclusions"]

[Text] Dr Veselin Djuretic's two-volume study "Saveznici i jugoslovenska ratna drama" [The Allies and the Drama of the War in Yugoslavia] (Narodna Knjiga and the Institute of Balkanology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade, 1985) is undoubtedly an essay in the writing of history which not only will not leave experts and readers indifferent, but will in fact arouse many passions. But this ambitiously conceived work also attempts to cast doubt on many of our ideas about the ideological and ethnic aspects of the armed revolution in the years 1941-1945. In the words of Col Dr Savo Skoko, who presented an appraisal of the book on behalf of the publisher, the author "did not travel well-trodden paths," but decided upon a "quite singular method of presentation and philosophical interpretation of historical events."

What sort of "turnaround" in the historical treatment of the conventional ideas of the revolution and counterrevolution are we dealing with then? First of all, the antifascist forces and their 4-year development in the context of the allied policy toward Yugoslavia are the study's topic. It is primarily in that context that the author examines the "Serbian positions," since it was that nationality that was struck hardest by the occupier, and therefore its antifascism "had to be above all ideologies and policies." Through the entire study Djuretic does variations on the theme of relations between the Partizans (in this connection he gives the figure that in the first 5 years their makeup was at least 90 percent Serb!) and the Chetniks as the two military-political expressions of the disposition of the people, but at the same time he also considers them to be the extended arms of the Soviet government and refugee Yugoslav government, respectively. It is said of the CPY that it built its attitude toward reality on the foundation of revolutionary plans about the future, seeking an opportunity in the "muddy waters" of wartime for personal affirmation and thereby for taking over the leadership in the "resistance movement." As their "rivals" to win the confidence of the masses, the Chetniks are portrayed as the immediate victims of this kind of "extremist" policy on the part of the communists. Both because of their "umbilical" ties to the refugee government and the "changeable" British government, Draza Mihailovic's Chetniks were not able to react in time to the lightning-fast development of revolutionary events, and they built their international position on anticommunism as a form of "antiextremism." Very quickly, then, they were "compelled"

to collaborate in order to preserve their "biological resources" and the Serbian people. The occupier's reprisals in October 1941 in Macva, Kragujevac and Kraljevo, which followed upon creation of the Uzice Partizan republic, were "crucial" in this respect. The people, the author asserts, accepted it at the time as a "responsible policy." The same is reiterated later on with certain modifications. The more "aggressive" the Partizans were, the more firmly the Chetniks fell into the "trap" of collaborationism.

The Period of "Discord"

To be as graphic as possible Djuretic describes the first contacts between Draza and Tito. Thinking that the Partizan he is talking to is a Russian, the Chetnik commander "opened up his soul," and thereby also his anti-Croat disposition, determined by the Ustasha massacres. This was sufficient for the author to draw the conclusion that this "drew a fateful line of demarcation ... with respect to the future of Yugoslavia," in that the Partizan "chief" had the advantage, since "all the way up until 1943 he remained unidentified with respect to nationality." Now let us turn to assessments of the other collaborationist Serbian forces. He says of the Chetniks of Kosta Pecanac that while they were not under the control of the occupier, they showed themselves in combat to be "defenders of the Serbian population against dangerous Skipetar provocations and attacks." Dmitrije Ljotic was prepared even at the outset to "reach an agreement with Draza," but in the gap he was thrown into by two simultaneous abhorrences ("the greater one toward the communists and the lesser one toward the occupiers"!) he came out as a "political realist" of incandescent anticommunism, which threw him more and more into the occupier's net and "outright lackeyism." Milan Acimovic, much like Ljotic, attempted to make use of his role as a lackey in order to "neutralize" the German hostility toward Mihailovic, cautioning the Germans that it was "better to have an ethnically sober man for an enemy than a communist." That same course was also followed by his successor Milan Nedic. The latter, incidentally, is compared to the Frenchman Marshal Petain. However, if the character of the pressure imposed is measured by the character of the oppressive regime, then the case of the Serbian prime minister was becoming "much more moral." In short, Djuretic believes that Serbian fascism did not have even the elementary motives to continue, and so "leftist propaganda" fostered the development whereby this idea became a "world curiosity," a ["]gratuitous occurrence."

By contrast with their "rivals," the Partizans are represented as an ideologically and organizationally coherent force, which in those times of "intrigue" knew from the first moment not only what it wanted, but also how to bring it about. In so doing it was not "scrupulous about its means," nor was it cautious about the sufferings of the "Serbian people."

From the time of his "parting of the ways" with Draza, the author asserts, Tito had three complicated tasks. The first was to cast the responsibility for the conflict in Serbia over to his "rival," explaining this on purely class and ideological grounds. The second task was to keep alive the conception of the broad pan-Yugoslav character of his movement, while the third was to emphasize the combativeness of the Partizans as against the collaborationism of their opponents.

The basic communist tactic, Djuretic writes, was to "spread out" the responsibility of the various Yugoslav nationalities for the collapse in April and the sufferings in the war. The "leveling," he says, was most evident in the "falsification" of the structure of the Partizan units and concealment of the genocide of the Serbian people, referring indefinitely to the victims as "Yugoslavs." A false parity was also established, the author says, by invention of the terms "Croat Partizans" and "Serbian Chetniks." Djuretic sees the purpose of these propaganda "mystifications" in the fear of the Partizan leadership of postwar Chetnik revenge on the Croats and Muslims because of the Ustasha atrocities.

Buridan's Ass

The author attributes the strength of the "wartime colossus" to yet another "propaganda" term--what was referred to as "Great Serbian hegemony and oppression." In the study Djuretic certainly does not deal even superficially with the relation between the Serbian and other nationalities in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, but he is categorical in his assertion that not only was there never anything of the kind, but that in the war this was often a slogan for rallying people on an "anti-Serb and anti-Serbian platform." At this point he presents the view of those few people who "have the idea" that the Serbs, in spite of numerous alternatives for realization of a concept based on nationality, chose a "solution above nationalities," that is, the Yugoslav "ideological" counterweight to Serbism, which "halted the process of their institutional realization as a nationality"!

That is, the author goes all the way back to the "Austro-Hungarian anti-Serb ruses" for the origin of the term "Great Serbian hegemony." In the subsequent course of events the Comintern took over the slogan in order to use it to break up Yugoslavia. The establishment of the Croatian CP and Slovenian CP before the "definitive formation of the federalist concept of the party" was a "confirmation" of this attitude.

The author's specific view of the problem of federalism is especially manifested in the chapter on the "turning point at Jajce." Djuretic also finds the starting point of the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] arrangement of the new state, whose "federal elaboration" obtained approval in both East and West, in the myth of "hegemony." That is, no one at the time called attention to the criticism of the Serbian party politicians to the effect that the "decisions at Jajce were leading toward disintegration of the Serbs," since it was felt that the main thing was to "federalize the oppressed nationalities." The extent to which Djuretic considers this topic essential to explaining the drama of the war in Yugoslavia can be seen from the conclusion, in which he says: "The failure of the Serbian nationality to institute itself as a state had the result that its regionalistic and separatistic petty politics and the elaborate array of petty bourgeois parties based on it to pay a bloody tribute for the lack of ethnic discipline--represented by the victims running to the millions and the countless burned-out ruins from the Drina to Ogulin." In other words, during the war the "Serbian problem" took the place of that earlier "Croatian problem."

Considerable space in the study is devoted to formation of the Subasic royal government. Djuretic has not shown any excessive understanding of the former ban of Croatia (with an "anti-Serb complex"). This historian compares the ban's vacillation between loyalty to the king and to Tito to the dilemmas of "Buridan's ass," he judges his approach to the Serbian problem to be "confused" and "nationalistically biased," while he compares the trip to Vis to the pope's contrite departure to Canossa. In view of the fact that he considers the "diabetic" Subasic to be one of those principally to blame for many "errant" Croats going over to the victorious side without punishment on the eve of the war, Djuretic ironically awards him an "important place in Croatian history."

The study contains a specific analysis of the posture of the Soviet Union and Great Britain toward Yugoslav events. He says of the Comintern and the Soviet government that from the very first moment they knew precisely what their ultimate goal was, but they concealed it very cleverly. Tito allegedly kept his communications with Moscow in the greatest secrecy, not revealing them even to his closest collaborators. Thus with Stalin's "blessing" a clever political game was played throughout the war consisting of "selected" and "doctored" pieces of information which through leftist periodicals gradually created in the public opinion of the free world a predisposition toward the struggle of the Partizans. In that context the author portrays the entry of the Soviet Army into Yugoslavia in 1944 as a "great deception" whose purpose was so that Tito could first consolidate his positions in Serbia, which was the key to primacy throughout the country, and then to face the British with a fait accompli.

Compressing everything that has been said about Moscow's role, it is evident that Djuretic opposes the widespread assertions that the Soviet government "held back the process of the social revolution in Yugoslavia," stubbornly arguing that it was precisely the Soviet government that was pulling the strings, often indeed even with the "hand of Britain."

British policy is represented in an altogether different light, as "unscrupulous" and "mixed up." The decisive moment here, Djuretic says, was when Churchill's government accepted the principle of "armed activity" as the criterion for offering aid, which was actually the strategic gambit of the National Liberation Movement, at the same time pushing the Chetniks, and thereby also the king and government, to the margins of the far-reaching revolutionary events. Incidentally, the author portrays Winston Churchill as a "fickle British lion" who at one time admitted that "pure idealism" was guiding his policy in Yugoslavia. According to Djuretic, the great British statesman was "compassionate" toward Tito. It was supposedly enough for Tito to send him in his sickbed a letter with wishes for rapid recovery and for him to promise that he would "not introduce communism" for the sentimental prime minister to give him political, material and moral support.

The author also offers a genesis of the British "failure to understand" Yugoslav reality. He says that certain British historians and diplomats who had studied the so-called "Croatian question" introduced "chaos" back in the period between the wars. They allegedly instilled in the British public the

myth of Serbian "hegemony," which even Churchill himself was "taken in by." In order to support this as well as he could, Djuretic entered into very "slippery" calculations, accusing certain British and Croatian figures of a kind of "Masonic conspiracy." The Masons in the leadership of the Croatian Peasant Party were supposedly Krnjevic and Subasic, and their "backers" on the island were R. W. Seton-Watson, W. Steed and L. H. Green. The allusion to the conspiracy of the "Freemasons" against Draza's Chetniks has also been given in a fragment which speaks about the negotiations in Zagreb between the Partizan emissaries and the Germans in the spring of 1943, which still have not been sufficiently elucidated. Djuretic asserts without any very precise substantiation that all the German participants in those talks were Masons.

In reading this study it is impossible to avoid the question: How did Djuretic arrive at his various surprising and sometimes even shocking conclusions? Certainly the answer is not a simple one at all. It is a fact that in recent years much has been done in the Serbian writing of history to study the contemporary ethnic and party history. A great many works have been written which expose various cases of ideological ballast and mystification with respect to certain "debatable" topics, where the real historical events are shown with arguments to have departed from their propaganda portrayal. Some of Djuretic's research is precisely on the threshold of that kind of discovery.

However, the study "Saveznici i jugoslovenska ratna drama" offers a great deal of what is not by any means a step forward in the writing of history. The author concentrates almost exclusively on the study of political and diplomatic history wrenched from the context of broader social events. The qualitative change in the social structure at the beginning and at the end of the war is not evident from his work, nor are the major revolutionary changes in the makeup of social values. Djuretic is by and large concerned with the public political scene, on which, in the style of the traditional writing of history, the notable personalities (Tito, Draza, Churchill, Stalin, Subasic ...) "engage in a battle of wits" over the conceptions of their respective parties. It is precisely here that the author attempts at any price to demonstrate his flight from the so-called black-and-white portrayal of reality, since they are all measured "by the same yardstick, without discrimination or hypocrisy." Thus Djuretic's Tito, for example, represented as an individual Machiavellianistically and uncompromisingly oriented toward the taking of power, is not excessively "white," while Draza, as the tragic defender of his people eternally torn and confused among the changes in local and world politics, is not excessively "black." Indeed, both are disturbingly "gray" and more or less frustrated in the big game being played by their "mentors."

In keeping with this kind of treatment of the principal figures in the Yugoslav drama, this historian pretty much relativizes the relations between the revolution and the counterrevolution in the "civil war" (interpreting it mainly as a conflict between nationalities!), reducing them more to political and moral relations than economic and class relations.

[Box, p 19]

Frenetic Applause

The appearance of Djuretic's new study took place under rather unusual circumstances. In spite of its astronomical price (5,500 dinars!), two editions have already been sold even before the books have reached any bookstores outside of Belgrade.

The way in which the book was officially promoted is still more interesting. Although this is not the custom, the reception to promote it was held in the main auditorium of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Under normal circumstances it holds about 200 people. However, about 500 came on this occasion. Among them were a large number of members of the academy and university professors, but also those who emphasize the nationality they belong to on all occasions. The speakers at the reception to promote the book who spoke enthusiastically included Dr Savo Skoko and Sveta Lukic and Vlado Strugar, members of the academy. The latter, a general and holder of the 1941 Partizan Commemorative Medal, is said to have counted the Serbian victories in the two world wars. In this connection he also mentioned some "third" Yugoslavia. The presentation was accompanied by lengthy and frenetic clapping. The public was not informed of all this at all. Strugar, who is a member of the academy, recently told our collaborator in Belgrade that he was "misunderstood," but he unreservedly rejected the possibility of publishing his speech.

What actually did happen in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts?

7045

CSO: 2800/05

YUGOSLAVIA

ISMAIL BAJRA DISCUSSES NATIONALISM IN KOSOVO

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 17 Sep 85 pp 21-24

[Interview with Ismail Bajra, member of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC, by Gojko Marinkovic: "What the Irredenta Sang Was Poison"; date and place not specified]

[Text] So much has been written since 1981 about Kosovo and what happened in it and concerning it that quite a large library could be built up. We might say: with good reason, since here on our Yugoslav soil we have not confronted such a fierce attack of nationalism since the war and such an outright attempt at counterrevolution. That is why in this series of interviews of ours about nationalism it was not possible to omit Kosovo, and we chose for the subject of our interview Ismail Bajra, member of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC, who is responsible for interethnic relations and was one of the actual organizers of the recent conference in Pristina on nationalism, its routes and ways of overcoming it.

We began the interview with this question:

[Question] To what extent has the Kosovo public become aware of the causes of the escalation of Albanian nationalism and irredentism?

[Answer] A majority of the members of the LC and of other working people and citizens of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities are aware that the causes of the open and flagrant counterrevolutionary action in 1981 lie to the greatest extent in the neglect and inconsistent achievement of the constructive program for development and affirmation of socialist self-management and ethnic equality, in the lack of an organized, persistent and consistent struggle for practical implementation of the 1974 constitutional amendments and the Law on Associated Labor so as to achieve an authentic social relation, in the tendency toward a strengthening of provincial, republic and federal statism and bureaucratic centralism, in the inroads made by bourgeois, petit bourgeois and dogmatic-Stalinist ideology, in the retreat before nationalistic and other hostile forces, in the overemphasis of the ethnic aspect at the expense of the working class aspect, in the inconsistent performance of the leading political-ideological role and achievement of unity in action in quite a few organizations and leadership bodies in the Kosovo LC. To this we should also add the slow and inconsistent solving of the accumulated socioeconomic problems,

unjustified social differences, but also the appreciable widening of the gap in the level of socioeconomic development between the province and the advanced and relatively underdeveloped regions of the country. At that time the danger of the hostile anti-Yugoslav policy and propaganda of the Albanian leadership was also underestimated. As time has passed the people have realized how much danger the counterrevolution has inflicted on all nationalities, the Albanian nationality in particular.

[Question] How much of the "credit" for all that should go to the former leadership?

[Answer] It is obvious that a fair number of members, organizations and especially leadership bodies in the Kosovo LC (and indeed other opstina and regional leadership bodies) were not equipped and oriented toward linkage with the party and social base in those years before the counterrevolutionary events. They did not understand the interest of the broad masses of people nor were they able to see any further than they did and to influence their opinion and action. The counterrevolutionary events demonstrated that what was most frequently lacking at that time was everyday active, creative and firm linkage of party members, especially opstina and provincial leaders, with the working people and citizens, that sectarian attitudes were adopted to a maximum toward young people, the intelligentsia and other social and ethnic structures. The bureaucratic-statist and group-ownership practice of displacing self-management and collective work and decisionmaking, spontaneity and leaving things to chance—all of this necessarily led to a monopoly of power by individuals and autocratic groups, arbitrariness and conformism, disorientation and indeed vacillation of a segment of the masses, especially young people.

There were also obvious shortcomings in personnel policy, and the most serious one, the one that hurt all ethnic structures, was the absence of class criteria. That is, a sizable number of people from direct production were not chosen and developed, but rather people were mainly selected from a narrow circle. The many years of the practice of the personnel "merry-go-round" created the psychology of irreplaceable people and was conducive to many unhealthy things, including the struggle for power as well as regional, clan and other unscrupulous forms of imposition and competition. People were chosen on the basis of political subjectivism, personal affinities and antipathies, not on the basis of ability and performance. It was not such a rare occurrence for individuals to arrive and remain in a post, from the province to the Federation, thanks to their own and someone else's careerism and lackeyism, usually on the logic: you look out for me, and I will look out for you. In the last 2 or 3 years we have done quite a bit to correct these and similar shortcomings, but there is still a great deal of that to be changed and democratized, and that does not apply to Kosovo alone.

[Question] There is no doubt that the counterrevolutionary events left their deepest trace in interethnic relations. Has there recently been any change for the better?

[Answer] The consequences in this area are both the most serious and the longest-lasting. One of the greatest and most serious is undoubtedly the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins. If you sing of love for years, you can bore both yourself and the person addressed, but what the Irredenta "sang" was a poison that was anti-Yugoslav, anti-Serb and anti-Albanian [sic]. And all of this to some extent cooled mutual relations and the sense of community. However, as the security and political situation has improved in Kosovo in the spirit of the Political Platform and Action Program of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC, and as battles have been won against Albanian nationalism and irredentism, a process has been taking place and is now taking place toward improvement and advancement of interethnic relations and a deepening of the climate of mutual respect and acknowledgement. Still, in Kosovo today the dominant interethnic relations are those of solidarity and mutual examples of sincere and fraternal community, mutual fraternization, visits back and forth of members of different nationalities at celebrations and funerals, and the mutual rendering of aid. Numerous youth actions and athletic, cultural and other events in the province and outside it, the welcoming and escorting of the Youth Relay, and so on, have become authentic forges of brotherhood and unity, community spirit and Yugoslav socialist patriotism. Unfortunately, examples of this kind have not been sufficiently present in our current public political-ideological and news-and-propaganda activities, especially outside Kosovo, but rather individual politicized interethnic excesses (some that happened, and some that did not), are dominant, and that is counterproductive.

[Question] But in spite of all the exaggerations and one-sidedness, the fact still remains that the Irredenta is still operating.

[Answer] Let me say first that the level of brotherhood and unity and community spirit that has been displayed and verified in everyday life and work in most places is the best answer to the Albanian, Serb and other nationalists and chauvinists who have been dramatizing the state of interethnic relations in Kosovo and who do not see or refuse to see the possibility of living together on this soil. They have been crying crocodile tears over the "fate" of their nationality and ethnic minority and have been fanning the flames of interethnic enmity, distrust, division and conflict in various ways. However, in spite of the major results achieved and the constructive trends, the domain of interethnic relations in the province is still burdened with numerous objective difficulties, subjective shortcomings and various nationalistic and other assaults and cases of resistance. This applies above all to the continued operation of the class enemy from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, which has been striving to maintain the continuity of its underground organization and operation, using verbal and written subversive propaganda and other methods, especially by stressing the reactionary slogan "Kosovo a Republic," by enflaming anti-Serb and anti-Montenegrin attitudes, and so on.

[Question] Have there been any changes in the tactics of the Irredenta?

[Answer] The slogans, goals and in general the platform of the remnants of the Albanian nationalists and irredentists have remained unchanged, but there has been particular insistence on the slogan "Kosovo a Republic." All the

shining achievements of the National Liberation Struggle, the revolution and the building of socialism are attacked in the slogans and pamphlets with hostile content, which are still being written and distributed in certain places or from abroad, there are insults to the person of Comrade Tito, the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality is equated with the activity of the Serbian bourgeoisie before and between the two wars and with Rankovicism, the argument "Trepca works--Belgrade builds up" is launched, signifying that Kosovo is supposedly being exploited.

Theses about the alleged discrimination against the Albanian ethnic minority and its culture, young people and intelligentsia are also being launched in this special warfare, and there have even been attempts to compromise communists and personnel from the ranks of the Albanian ethnic minority as "national traitors" and "serbophiles." But there have also been certain changes and adaptations to the new conditions in the tactics of the Irredenta. This has been especially notable in the behavior of the community of hostile political Albanian emigres in the West. Aware of the compromise essence of the slogan concerning an "ethnically pure Kosovo," the Western emigre community has recently emphasized [sic] this demand in its pamphlets (although it was and remains its main goal). Emphasis is now being put on the demand concerning a "republic of Albanians in the SFRY centered in Kosovo within the context of the constitution and territorial integrity of the SFRY." The remnants of the nationalistic-fascist movement Bali Kombetar as well as "Marxist-Leninist" groups propagating the policy of Albania are now advocating that kind of "republic" as well. In essence this is nothing other than a demand for a "great ethnically pure Albania," enveloped in false coatings of Marxism-Leninism and false ethnic interests. We are aware of the fact that interethnic and overall relations in Kosovo are also burdened by other factors, above all the operation of Serbian, Montenegrin and other types of nationalism in Kosovo and especially toward Kosovo, the very problematical and difficult economic situation, the acute unemployment, inflation and the drop in the standard of living, the slow and inconsistent correction of social inequities, Kosovo's socioeconomic lag, the technobureaucratic attitude toward people, clerical nationalism, and so on.

[Question] Does this mean that the other nationalisms are also on the rise; how are they expressed, and what is their aim?

[Answer] A quite detailed and complete answer to that question was given to some extent at the meeting of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee held 9 July of this year. I would only say that Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism in Kosovo, and especially outside Kosovo, has been aimed at creating and maintaining a tense situation in interethnic and overall relations in the province, in Serbia and beyond. This form of nationalism, which is also being expressed through some of the media (alienated or under direction), especially a segment of the popular press, as well as through individual statements and in other ways, is arousing distrust and intolerance toward the Albanian ethnic minority and its historical and contemporary progressive values and achievements, it is emphasizing the demand for a "firm hand" and for restoring the situation before Brioni, is attempting to revise and devalue the constitutional rights and responsibility of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo,

is insisting on reducing the Albanian nationality to the status of an "ethnic minority" with diminished and reduced ethnic freedoms and rights, is identifying the Albanian nationality with Albanian nationalism and irredentism, is emphasizing the thesis of the alleged lack of a future for Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, is casting suspicion on communists and personnel of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality in Kosovo, treating them as "careerists," "albano-philés" and "cowards and traitors to their own nationality." As though the Albanian nationalists and irredentists had reached an agreement with the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists to use the methods of special warfare they have in common to maintain the temperature in Kosovo and to blacken absolutely everything in Kosovo and beyond.

The struggle we have waged up to now against Albanian nationalism and irredentism was aided most by those social, party and ethnic communities in Serbia and the entire country which advocated and now advocate effective and total implementation of the views agreed on at the level of the entire country for the more rapid economic development of Kosovo and which have not allowed revival and operation of an anti-Albanian disposition, and which, then, have realized that the Political Platform on Kosovo also applies to their own communities.

[Question] There has been criticism to the effect that the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo do not have equal rights in hiring, since, for example, a knowledge of two languages is required for all jobs.

[Answer] According to the 1981 Population Census, the ethnic composition of the Kosovo population is this: Albanians 77.4 percent, Serbs 13.2 percent, Montenegrins 1.7 percent, Turks 0.8 percent, Muslims 3.7 percent, Gypsies 2.2 percent and others about 1 percent. In the total labor force of 205,259 (this figure is from 1984), 69.4 percent are Albanians, 22.5 percent Serbs, 3.3 percent Montenegrins, 1.3 percent Turks, 2.2 percent Muslims and 1.3 percent Gypsies. These figures eloquently indicate that on the whole there has been no mechanical application of the ethnic criterion in hiring policy and practice. I do not say that it has not happened and that here and there there are not individual cases when the ethnic proportion is violated to the detriment of this or that ethnic group. These individual examples have been especially evident in communities burdened with relations not imbued with self-management, group-ownership relations, and private and informal relations. For example, an enterprise director who is an Albanian hires his relatives, thereby discriminating against other nationalities, but also against Albanians who need the job worse. But likewise a director who is a Serb or Montenegrin will hire his relatives, rather than Serbs, Montenegrins or Albanians with a greater right to the job. Under the conditions of acute unemployment, I would even say dramatic unemployment, which is equally harmful to the members of all nationalities, especially educated young people, these and similar abuses of power, although they are not on a disturbing scale, justifiably irritate those who are well-intentioned and give nourishment to those who are malicious.

[Question] But let us get back to the question of language.

[Answer] Even though the policy of the LC in this area is based on principle and clear, and even though we have achieved major results, we are aware that quite a bit of the job still remains in carrying it out consistently. In practice we still encounter formalism, irresponsibility and inconsistency in some communities, and that at all levels. There are few auditoriums in work collectives, opstinas and at the provincial level with the equipment and personnel for simultaneous translation. There have also been bureaucratic arguments advanced to the effect that multilingualism is expensive, and since the Serbian and Montenegrin personnel often do not know Albanian, then the meetings are conducted in Serbo-Croatian, which places the Albanian and Turkish languages in an unequal position and hinders the willingness to learn Albanian.

If we look at the self-management acts of work collectives and institutions employing 148,232 (76 percent of the total labor force), we find that only 13,491 jobs call for 2 or 3 languages. In no case is that unconstitutional or unlawful in a multinational community like that of Kosovo, though certain of the media have issued a blanket accusation of us for this, as in fact has been done even by certain judges and solicitors general outside Kosovo; this is rather intended to serve the exercise of the constitutional rights of citizens of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities.

[Question] But actual practice does after all differ, there have been abuses of this principle.

[Answer] In certain communities we have confronted extreme abuse of this institution. The Labor Inspectorate, for example, discovered 15 OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor] whose normative acts required multilingualism for all jobs (from messenger to director). At the same time in more than 300 work collectives large and small, there is no such institution of knowing 2 languages either in the regulations or in practice. Failure to provide for the implementation of this principle in certain work collectives, local communities and institutions has had the result that certain members of all nationalities and ethnic minorities have been issued certificates and certain other written legal documents in a language other than their own. There have been cases when members of the Serbian or Montenegrin nationality received legal documents in Albanian, but it is still a widespread practice for Albanians and Turks to receive from some agency, service or the like written responses in Serbo-Croatian, and frequently even from civil servants who are themselves Albanians.

The spoken and written languages of our nationalities and ethnic minorities should be a bridge for convergence and mutual respect and acknowledgement of our nationalities and ethnic minorities throughout all of Yugoslavia, rather than a factor for demarcation, exclusiveness, separation and confrontation. In the SFRY there is not, nor can there be, a division into "government" and "nongovernment," into "official" and "nonofficial," or into "large" and "small" written and spoken languages, since allowing anything of the kind would be unconstitutional and counterrevolutionary. In Kosovo and everywhere in our country communists must work still more effectively toward further strengthening and affirmation of the awareness that the knowledge and use of all the spoken and written languages is necessary in multinational communities.

[Question] The exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo nevertheless remains the largest problem burdening the political situation.

[Answer] This is political issue number one and the most difficult consequence of the counterrevolution, and we have been and are now devoting to it our extreme and priority attention. We approach it as a human, ethnic, inter-ethnic and political problem, as a question of extremely great importance to the present and future of living together on this soil. We have achieved and we are achieving certain results which cannot be underestimated, but neither should they be exaggerated. We are not satisfied, far from it, but we cannot accept assessments to the effect that the exodus has diminished only because there are now fewer Serbs and Montenegrins, rather than because this is the result of the action taken by the LC and the other organized forces. The exodus is on the decline and is 'dying out'; over the last 3 years many families have decided not to move out, and about 1,600 people, most of them individuals, have even returned. A considerable number of the returnees have obtained employment, even without going through the competition, and under our modest conditions we have even provided housing for some people. These constructive trends have not unfortunately been sufficiently brought before the public, especially the public outside Kosovo.

However, we still have not completely managed to halt the exodus, it is still going on, although less than before, especially in Pristina, Titova Mitrovica, Istok, Leposavic and Gnjilane. There have been fewer private farmers and workers leaving, and they are the ones who are returning most frequently, but at the same time specialists have been leaving with great ease and not much thought (or intending to leave), going mainly to Serbia and Montenegro. We are also including in the group of potential emigres the quite numerous personnel and officials of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality who have sold their real estate, or are doing so "quietly," are building houses outside Kosovo or are exchanging their socially owned housing, and those who are still working in Kosovo, but their families have already left.

[Question] Have there been cases when distinguished personnel have not returned to Kosovo after their term of office has expired in the republic or Federation?

[Answer] It would mean a great deal to us if our personnel, especially those of Serbian or Montenegrin nationality, would return to Kosovo with their families after their term of office expires. Unfortunately, there are few such examples. Some have not wanted to return even to very responsible positions. It is very helpful to us that some personnel have accepted certain responsible posts and have been working day and night on the business of the party and revolution, but it would be qualitatively different if they also brought their families with them. Of course, I am not referring to those returns which would cause family problems, which would create difficulties and problems for retired and elderly people. Yet it is not a good thing that retired people are as a rule leaving Kosovo, since even as pensioners they are useful and necessary to this province and to our joint actions.

A large number of our personnel who are working or who are living on a pension outside Kosovo have offered us and are now offering us direct and constructive aid, even in connection with the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins. However, there have been and are individuals who have held responsible and high positions in Kosovo for decades and yet in these 4 years of our tortured struggle they have not seen fit to come and speak here even once, they have not even visited the villages, cities and opstinas they come from, even though they have been regularly invited. And yet on the other hand they quite often deliver us arbitrary and blanket lectures about how we see nothing and have done nothing, nor is there anything good that can be done here. They accuse us of good and bad things that date from their own time, and they even include themselves among those who have moved out "under pressure of the "Albanians." They might at least have said "Albanian nationalists." Fortunately, the people here in Kosovo do not believe such individuals, since the people are not so politically illiterate as to be unable to distinguish good from bad, sincere aid from hypocrisy and hindrance in all matters, including the exodus.

[Question] Are there still differences in estimates concerning the causes of the exodus and the unscrupulous exchange of fire?

[Answer] Even today, though to a smaller extent than before, we face two equally harmful extremes. According to the one (these are usually individuals and groups of Albanian nationality) all the causes of the exodus are socioeconomic, demographic and family-related, and any pressure is minimized and denied. They speak in the manner: let them go, that is their constitutional right--both objectively and subjectively they are serving the theses and goals of the class enemy concerning an "ethnically pure Kosovo." The other extreme (these are individuals and groups of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality) in turn see pressure in everything, failing to respect economic and other motives, minimizing and denying success that has been achieved. The problems of the exodus are taken as something that can be manipulated in carrying out an attack of everything that exists in Kosovo, in Serbia and in the SFRY as a whole. Both these extremes are in essence nationalistic, tendentious and counterrevolutionary, and they are serving the sinister goals of an "ethnically pure Kosovo."

We are worried, and we have to react decisively if even just one family or individual from the ranks of the Serbian or Montenegrin nationality or Albanian nationality moves out under pressure. We have to use all the instruments of our working class dictatorship of the proletariat against every form of pressure, and we are doing so. Although there are communities in which opportunism and conformism are manifested.

There are no pardons here, nor may there be. However, we must be realistic and respect the fact that many people of Kosovo belonging to the ranks of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities must continue to look for jobs outside Kosovo (and must find them), in other regions of our country or indeed even abroad. We do not have the potential here for employing the approximately 120,000 people registered with self-managing communities for employment security, many of whom do not even have the minimal means of existence.

[Question] Do you mean to say that interethnic relations have been influenced by many other objective problems, above all economic and social?

[Answer] Yes, since, to take an example, in as many as 12 of the 22 opstinas in Kosovo the number of persons hired in the last 2 or 3 years does not run into 3 digits, and if this trend were to continue, it would take us at least 30 years to employ just those who are waiting for jobs now. It is not easy or simple today in Kosovo to mete out justice when between 1,000 and 4,000 applications are received in the competition for 1 job.

We do, then, have difficulties, problems, shortcomings and resistance, but we also have strength and the desire to overcome them, with the help from party members and working people of the entire country on the basis of solidarity.

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